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ABSTRACT

The result of a decade of work collecting documents, interviews, and observations, the manuscript describes the operation of the modern day Samoan educational system against an historical background of three previous eras that reach back over 200 years to a time when Samoa was virtually unknown to the western world. The development of Samoan education over this period compares to the development of a river with a main stream and three successive tributaries. The main stream, described in Chapter 2 (Samoan Chiefs--1700s-1830), was the original Samoan way of life centered around a chieftan system. The first tributary, described in Chapter 3 (Missionaries--1830-1900), represents educational growth during the missionary era. The second tributary, described in Chapter 4 (Officers of the Navy--1900-1961), represents expansion of the school system under United States Navy administration following the period of political turmoil out of which American Samoa emerged. The third tributary, described in Chapter 5 (Videotapes--1961-1975), represents educational innovation via instructional television. Chapter 6 (In 1980--Future Prospects) gives a brief overview of the status of the educational system at the close of the 1970s, followed by a description of significant problems faced by the territory's educators at the outset of the 1980s. An extensive bibliography is included. (TRS)

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From Talking Chiefs to Videotapes:

Education in American Samoa -- 1700s to 1980

R. Murray Thomas

University of California, Santa Barbara

1986

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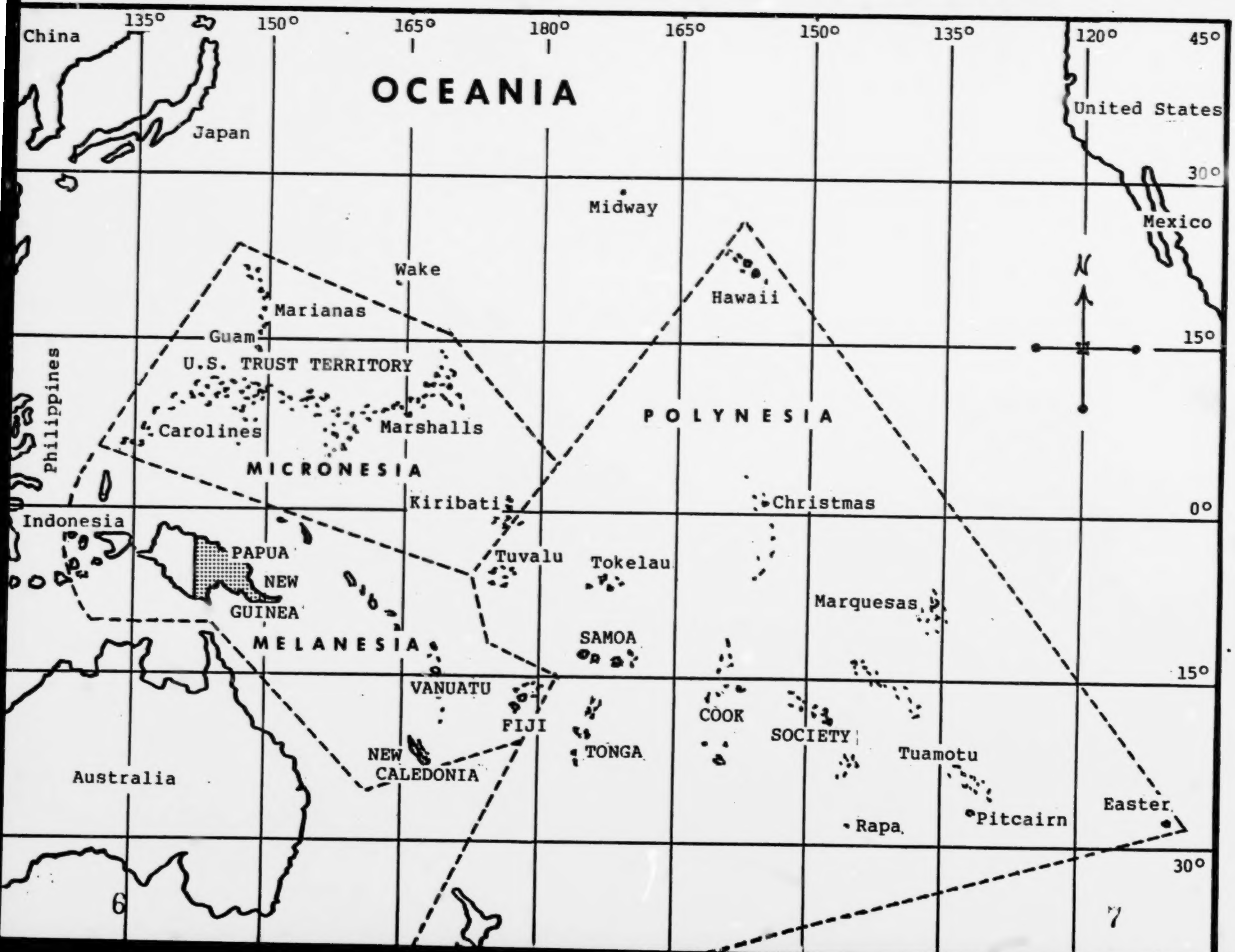
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Guam
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Philippines
Carolines
Marshalls
POLYNESIA
MICRONESIA
Kiribati
Christmas
Indonesia
PAPUA
NEW
GUINEA
Tuvalu
Tokelau
Marquesas
MELANESIA
SAMOA
VANUATU
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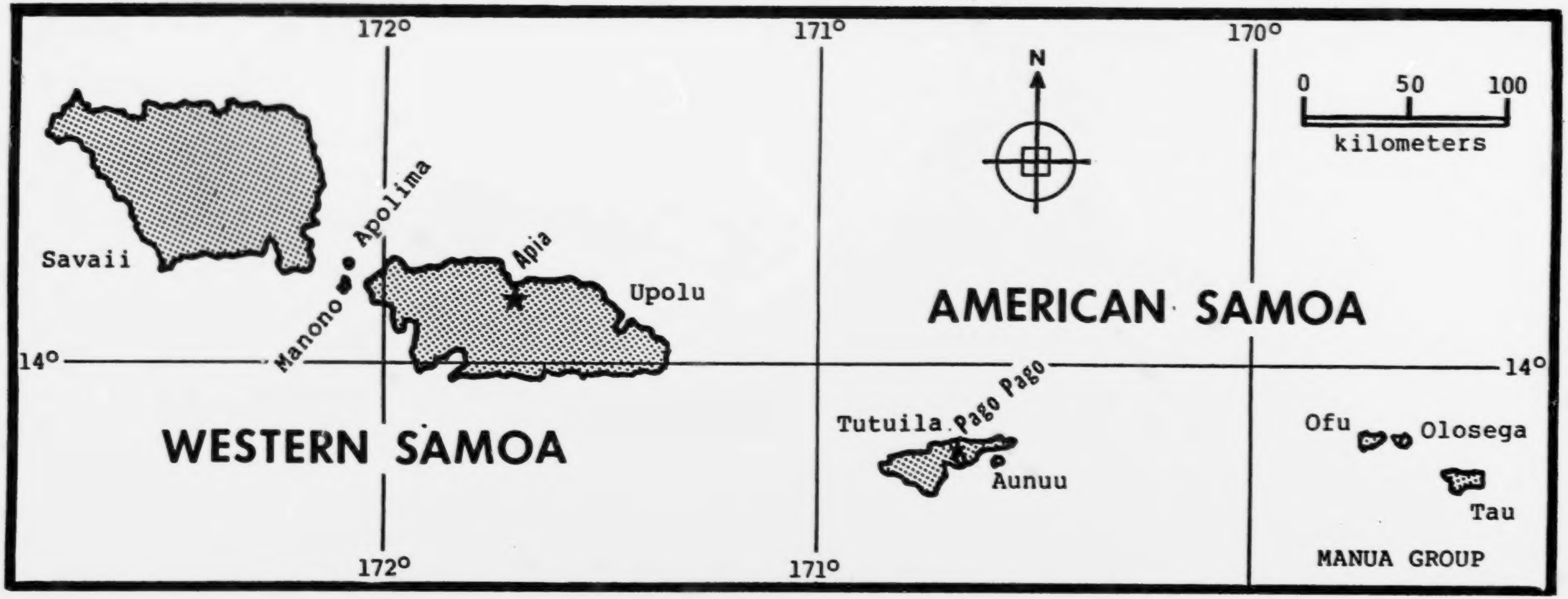
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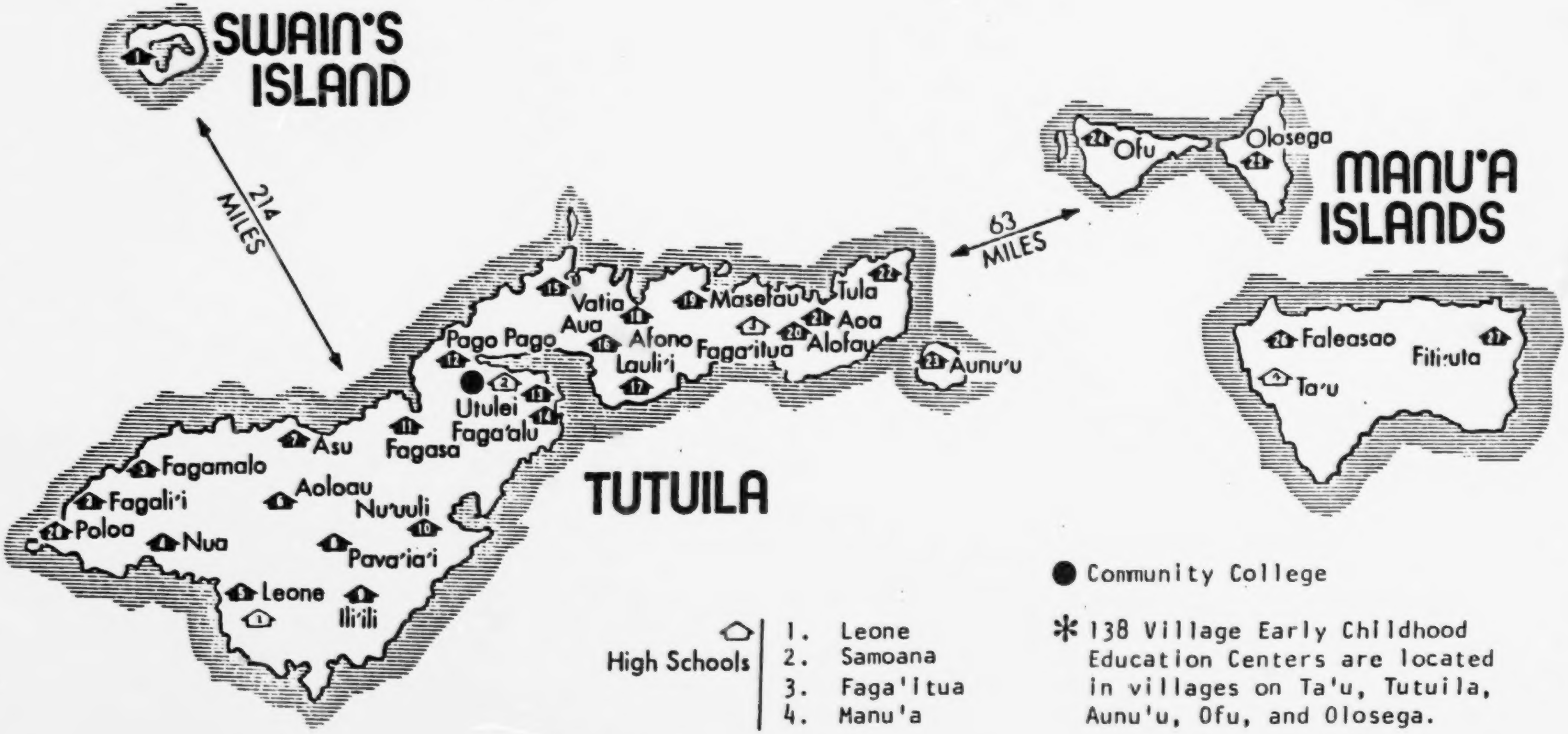
SWAIN'S ISLAND
214 MILES
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Olosega
MANU'A ISLANDS
Faleasao
Fiti'uta
Ta'u
Vatia
Aua
Afono
Lauli'i
Masefau
Tula
Aoa
Faga'itua
Alofau
Aunu'u
Pago Pago
Utulei
Faga'alu
Fagasa
Asu
Fagamalo
Fagali'i
Poloa
Aoloau
Nu'uuli
Nua
Pava'ia'i
Leone
Ili'ili
TUTUILA

● Community College

* 138 Village Early Childhood Education Centers are located in villages on Ta'u, Tutuila, Aunu'u, Ofu, and Olosega.

High Schools

1. Leone
2. Samoana
3. Faga'itua
4. Manu'a

Elementary Schools

1. Swain's Island
2. Fagail'i
3. Fagamalo
4. Alataua-Lua
5. Leone-Midkiff
6. Sili'aga
7. Asu
8. Pava'ia'i
9. Lupelele
10. Manulele Tausala
11. Le'atele
12. Pago Pago
13. Fia Iloa
14. Matafao
15. Mauga-o-Alava
16. Aua
17. Lauli'i
18. Afono
19. Masefau
20. Alofau
21. Olomoana
22. Matatula
23. Aunu'u
24. Ofu
25. Olosega
26. Faleasao
27. Fiti'uta
28. Tapatapa

PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN AMERICAN SAMOA

distances between islands not to scale

Chapter 1

The Setting

In the 1960s the United States Congress was publicly embarrassed into furnishing unprecedented financial aid to several small islands which a journalist had dubbed "America's Shame in the South Seas."[1] The embarrassment arose from the charge that the world's richest nation was giving billions of dollars in aid to foreign countries and was freely telling them how to treat their dependent peoples at the same time that it was grossly neglecting the native population of its own American Samoa. As a result, over the 20-year period of 1961-1980 Congress allocated tens of millions of dollars for eduational and socioeconomic development among Eastern Samoa's nearly 30,000 citizens.

The most dramatic endeavor during these years was the establishment of the world's first entire school system utilizing televised lessons as the core of classroom learning, while the classroom teacher assumed the role of aide to the televised lessons. During the mid-1960s this experiment in videotape education gained world-wide prominence. It brought a stream of educators to the islands to see how the plan worked and to judge which aspects of the system might be suited to the needs of other lands —the needs of both technologically advanced nations and new ones still struggling out of a colonial past.[2]

The purpose of this book is to describe the operation of the modern-day Samoan educational system against an historical backdrop of three previous eras that reach back more than two centuries to a time when Samoa was almost unknown to the Western world. The main lines of development of Samoan education over this period can fairly be likened unto the development of a river which consists of a main stream that is joined by three successive tributaries.

The central stream, described in Chapter 2, was the original Samoan way of life, centering around a chieftain system, which evolved in the islands over a span of more than two thousand years. Throughout this long epoch there were no formal schools in the islands, no textbooks, and no professional teachers. Young people learned vocations by working alongside their parents —planting taro, cooking fish, and hewing canoes from logs with stone adzes. Children learned social customs and the duties of a citizen by imitating their elders and by following the orders of older sisters and brothers who were charged with supervising the young. They learned Samoan oral history and the complexities of the chieftain system from hearing florid recitations given by talking chiefs on ceremonial occasions. And today, despite the influence of Western ways, this same informal system of community education continues to be the principal source of knowledge about life for the majority of the islanders.

Around 1830 the first educational tributary poured into the main stream in the form of an influx of Protestant missionaries who, within less than two decades, Christianized the bulk of the indigenous population and established the network of village pastors' schools that still play an important role in religious education. Details of educational growth during this missionary era, 1830 to 1900, are given in Chapter 3.

The next tributary did not enter until the outset of the twentieth century. It grew out of a political decison. Over the last half of the nineteenth century, constant political turmoil in the islands led to a three-nation conference in Berlin in 1889. In a series of meetings over the 1889-1899 decade, the major nations with interests in Samoa —Germany, Britain, and the United States— agreed to divide the islands into western and eastern segments. Germany was awarded the four western islands, representing the larger land and population areas where the Germans already held extensive plantations. America was given the seven smaller, rugged eastern islands whose main attraction was Pago Pago Bay, the best harbor in the South Seas and already the site of a U.S. Navy coaling station. Great Britain gave up any claims in the Samoan group in return for Germany's relinquishing claims in Tonga and in some disputed sectors of Africa.

When the United States in 1900 took over the administration of Eastern Samoa, now known as American Samoa, the second tributary began flowing into the educational stream. For the next half century the U.S. Navy's governor delegated the responsibility for the conduct of education to a school board that eventually was headed by the Navy chaplain, who served as the superintendent of schools. Under the Navy, a modicum of attention was accorded by the naval personnel in the islands to the education of the native population, but much less interest was displayed by authorities in Washington whose financial aid would be needed if schooling of any adequacy was to be furnished to Samoans. Although the administration of American Samoa was transferred from the Navy to the Department of the Interior in 1951, the conduct of the schools throughout the 1950s was essentially the same as it had been under the Navy. The expansion of the school system during this period is described in Chapter 4.

The final tributary appeared after 1961, and by the latter years of the decade it had altered the hue of the educational stream in a startling fashion. A television transmission center was erected atop Mt. Alava above Pago Pago harbor to broadcast daytime school lessons throughout the territory over six channels and to send nighttime entertainment and adult education over two channels. To replace more than 50 dilapidated village elementary buildings and a single high school left over from Navy days, 24 modern consolidated elementary schools and four high schools designed particularly for the use of televised lessons were erected. A new curriculum and new teaching materials focusing on the needs of Samoans were developed to replace the existing curriculum that had consisted mainly of the study of textbooks imported from the mainland United States. To staff key positions in this instructional system, over 150 specialists were brought from the States, and an expanded inservice-education program was developed to upgrade the skills of Samoan teachers and administrators. This revolutionary approach to improving the education of a dependent people made the new Samoan school system a showplace for American and foreign school administrators who felt that the Samoan experiment might also solve instructional problems faced in their own schools.

All of this activity in the 1960s arose from the initiative of a new territorial governor, H. Rex Lee, who took office in May 1961 and immediately set out to alter educational and socioeconomic conditions in this island territory which, a journalist had claimed, "reeked of more than a half-century of American neglect."[3] Lee's visits to the small, primitive village schools, staffed mostly by poorly prepared teachers, convinced him that the quickest way to improve the quality of education and to increase the number of pupils served would be to create a territory-wide "cooperative system of instruction making maximum use of television. The core of all instruction in this system is the teaching done by means of television and supported by reinforcement activities that take place in the classrooms. The planning, presentation, and reinforcement procedures are all developed cooperatively..." and directed from the Department of Education's central studio complex at Utulei on Pago Pago Bay.[4]

After Lee left the governorship in 1967, the television-instruction system continued to operate, a living memorial to his initiative. However, by the end of the decade flaws began to show up in the plan. By 1970, new educational leaders were in charge of the schools, and they arranged over the next five years to relegate television instruction to a supporting rather than a central role in the classroom. In addition, a variety of other innovations appeared in the schools, most of them funded by large federal grants designed to aid such educationally disadvantaged people as the Samoans. But in 1975 this 15-year era of rapid expansion and experimentation was brought to a sudden halt by the territorial government's financial crisis. Inept accountants and unwise fiscal practices in the 1970s had plunged the government millions of dollars into debt, requiring sharp cuts in the budgets of all departments, including the Department of Education. This meant that in 1975 scores of employees in the education system were dismissed, school supplies were curtailed, consultant assistance from the mainland United States was eliminated, production staffs at the television studios were drastically reduced, and special educational services were dropped. In effect, by 1975 the decade-and-a-half of rapid innovation had come to an end. There were new times ahead. The detailed description of this 1961-1975 period is found in Chapter 5.

The book closes with Chapter 6, a brief overview of the status of the education system at the close of the 1970s, followed by a description of significant problems faced by the territory's educators at the outset of the 1980s.

In summary, Samoan education by 1980 was an amalgam of elements from traditional Samoan culture, from the missionary period, from the days of the U.S. Navy, and from nearly two decades of instructional television. The analysis of this sequence of eras opens with a view of education in Samoa under the chieftain system prior to 1830.

Chapter 2

Samoan Chiefs — 1700s to 1830

The origins of the Samoan people are obscure. Their physical features and cultural traits show that they deserve the Polynesian ethnic designation that applies to native residents of a triangular expanse of the Pacific that has Hawaii at the northern tip, New Zealand at the western, Easter Island at the eastern point, and the Cook Islands near the middle. But it is not known when, how, and from what place these people came to Samoa.

Most scholars believe that all Polynesians originated in Asia from "a cacasoid stock, which became mixed with a small mongoloid element (Malay?) in S.E. Asia and Indonesia, and later with a still smaller negroid element (Melanesian?) in the earlier stages of their voyage before they pushed through the Melanesian fringe into Polynesia proper."[1] Yet there are competing theories. Some older Samoans quote legends to support their belief that their ancestors were never immigrants but originated in their island home. More recently Thor Heyerdahl, in his Kon-Tiki account of a modern-day raft trip from the West Coast of South America into the South Central Pacific, claimed that native islanders did not arrive from Asia at all but sailed, as did his own crew on his rude craft, from South American waters.[2] However, Samoan legends and Heyerdahl's argument suffer from lack of consistent evidence, so the theory favoring an Asian origin continues in vogue.[3] Samoans' close ties to Asian cultures are many and readily apparent. Even a slightly trained linguest can find a host of words and structural elements common to Samoan such Indonesian-archipelago tongues as Malay. The common elements have led scholars to assign both of these languages to the Malay-Polynesian family.

Though there is a lack of exact data about the Samoan people's origins, evidence is available to show that for at least 2,000 years they have inhabited their present island home in which a unique form of Polynesian culture has evolved. When the first white adventurers discovered Samoa in the eighteenth century, they found a people who taught their culture to each new generation without the benefit of written language, without a stated course of study, and without formal schools or professional teachers. As is true in other relatively simple, nonliterate societies, the "curriculum" or content of Smaoan education was the everyday culture of the community. The principal institutions for transmitting this culture were the family and the village. The primary methods of study for the children and youths were their direct observation of other members of the community, their participation in daily village life, and their following the directions and admonitions of those above them in the family hierarchy. Since Samoan parents have traditionally assigned slightly older siblings the responsibility of caring for younger brothers and sisters, the Samoan child's most important teacher was often a relative not much older than he himself. This process of delegating responsibility gave adults more time to spend in each other's company, to use in educating the older youth, and to pursue their vocations.

It is far beyond the scope of this chapter to describe everything that Samoan boys and girls were expected to learn through their observation, their participation, and the instruction of their elders. So, for illustrative purposes, we shall limit our description to sample aspects of the original culture and social system as they existed 150 to 300 years ago. In selecting which elements to present, we shall adopt a sociological emphasis. We shall assume that the educational processes of old Samoa were intended primarily to teach children and youth about the following matters:

1. The general structure of their society.

2. The different roles people played in the society, including the responsibilities, rights, privileges, and power attached to these roles.

3. The rewards a person enjoyed for abiding by society's expectations and the consequences he or she suffered for deviating from them.

4. The historical backgrounds of the culture. This type of instruction provided the populace with a sense of cohesion and furnished the younger generation a rationale for continuing to conduct life according to "fa'a Samoa" (the "Samoan way") or the "proper way."

As the discussion proceeds, I shall mention the minds of people who assumed responsibility for providing different aspects of the instruction and shall also point out the situations in which the society's "lessons" were taught. At a variety of points in the discussion I shall indicate the attitudes toward life which young Samoans tended to assume as a result of such a curriculum and instructional system.

THE STRUCTURE OF SAMOAN SOCIETY

Aboriginal Samoa has been called a "family state" for two principal reasons.

First, the individual household formed the basic social, political, and economic unit upon which the entire society was erected. All social and political structures beyond the household were modeled after the family's power hierarchy, its system of decision-making, and its division of labor. This simplified the task of educating the young in matters of government. As children learned the organizational system of their own household, they thereby gained a basic understanding of the essential elements of social and governmental units beyond the home —the village, the extended family, the minor district composed of several villages, and the major district consisting of large sectors of one or more islands.

The second reason Samoa deserved the label "family state" was that family relationships were more significant in social and political life than was geographical proximity.[4] Samoan youths, by observing how their elders behaved and by following adults' instructions, learned at a relatively early age that they owed greater allegiance to distantly related members of the extended family than to unrelated neighbors. This does not mean that locality was insignificant, but only that kinship was the more powerful bonding agent for the social system. Of course, much of the time there was no conflict between these two factors because one's neighbors were also usually one's relatives. Families within a locality traced their origins to a common ancestor, thus producing a linkage system by blood and marriage referred to as the "aiga" (ah-ING-ah) or extended family. Each extended family bore a name or "matai" (mah-TIE) title, which the elected head or chief was authorized to use as his appellation.

As young people from different families or from distantly related families married and moved to new locations, the aiga system increased in complexity. Individuals continued to recognize their connections with their original extended families, but they also developed their own households in new communities, and the ties with the most distant relatives became increasingly tenuous. Over the centuries, as extended families expanded into new districts and as conflicts arose about who deserved to bear the families' existing matai or chieftain titles, new titles were created or existing titles were held simultaneously by more than one member of the family. Such a process of proliferation both of households and of chieftain titles resulted in the evolution of a complex hierarchy of "matais" or chiefs, some functioning primarily as heads of only their immediate households of eight to 25 people and others functioning as ranking leaders of villages or districts in addition to heading their own household groups.

This multiplying of chieftain titles did not stop with the arrival of the white man in the nineteenth century but has continued hand in hand with population growth to the present day. By 1950 nearly 10 percent of the population of American Samoa held matai titles. In other words, there was one matai to every 11 or 12 persons. On an average, each village had slightly under 12 chiefs.[5] Foreign visitors to the islands, both past and present, have often viewed this high proportion of chiefs to commoners with amusement. In doing so they have failed to recognize that the very abundance of prestigious matai positions has been one important source of the vigor that the Samoan chieftain system has maintained in the face of over a century of strong cultural pressure from the West. With so many titles available in the society, almost all adults —and particularly the males— could reasonably look forward to the possibility of achieving some level of chieftain status during their lifetime. This promise of future power and glory motivated the youth to support the matai system.

Although each matai in old Samoa was the supreme authority among the dozen or two members of his household, in the village council (fono) where he met with all other matais to settle village problems, he might be subordinate to other chiefs. That is, on the village and district levels the roles of matais were differentiated. The two broadest classes of titles were those of chief --"alii" (ah-LEE-ee)-- and of talking chief or orator --"talufale" (tah-lou-FAH-lay). Formally the alii of the village was the prime decision-maker and authority, but it was his talking chief who executed many of these decisions and spoke on the chief's behalf. The relationship of a high chief to his talking chief has been compared to that of a king to his prime minister. In practice, the interaction of these two varieties of matai depended not only on their formal relationship, but also on their individual personality traits. There were cases of clever, vigorous talking chiefs who successfully exceeded their formal authority and served as the principal decision makers as well as council spokemen.

Not only were matai titles divided into chief and talking-chief categories, but each of these types was further differentiated according to the power and prestige the title represented. Among both chief and talking-chief titles there were high, medium, and low ranks. The highest ranking were usually those titles with the most venerable, renowned history. These hierarchical chieftain distinctions were extremely important in Samoan political and social intercourse. Lesser chiefs were expected to defer to high chiefs in matters of decision as well as in social etiquette. The village or district council house traditionally had a circular or elliptical floor plan with a high, beehive-shaped thatched roof supported on a circle of posts. The structure had no walls, so all business conducted in the council was open to public view. During council sessions the matai who bore the highest title was accorded the most honored position before a post at one side of the building. The rest of the chiefs were assigned posts commensurate with the descending importance of their titles. The ones with the least prestigious titles took places between the posts.[6]

Although the central purpose of the fono or council meeting was to accomplish the business of village government, the fono also served a highly significant educational function. People of the village were welcome to sit outside the circle of the council-house posts and witness the lengthy deliberations of the matais. In this living theater of government, Samoan youth were schooled in a variety of subjects --public speaking, history, civics, and personal-social relations. From the oratory of the talking chiefs, the young learned that a person was more convincing and gained admiration and influence from his listeners if he embroidered his speech with poetic allusions to nature, to legend, and to custom. The young learned the honorific forms of speech considered proper in addressing chieftains of high rank. They learned local and national history and civics from listening to the matais debate land disputes, the issue of who should succeed to a contested matai title recently vacated, and the quesiton of what alliances to form with other villages in the face of impending war. Because old Samoa had no written language, all exchanges of information and opinion among fono delegates were necessarily oral, making available to the audience all of the data available to the chiefs. Thus, the listening youths and untitled adults outside the fono could decide in their own minds whether the matais' final decisions seemed warranted by the evidence. The fono further provided lessons on the formal power structure of the village. Not only did the seating arrangement of the chiefs delineate their ranking in power and prestige, but the order in which they sipped from the kava [7] bowl during the fono's opening ceremony and the polite language used among the chiefs also reemphasized for the audience the matais' relative positions in the social system.

The next larger governmental unit beyond the village was the minor or sub district, a coalition of several villages bound together by both family and regional ties for purposes of common defense and for settling such issues as controversial border lands or inter-village family quarrels. Affairs of the district were conducted through occasional fono sessions held in a village which boasted chiefs of particularly prestigious titles. Each fono delegate was a matai selected by his own village council members to represent their interests. As in the village, district fono sessions were held in a circular, open-air building or on the open green, permitting an audience of untitled adults and youths to witness the long hours of discourse. Frequently a large delegation of villagers accompanied their chief to the sectional council sessions. In this way the district fono served as an educational institution as well as a legislative and judicial body.

Subdistricts also allied themselves with each other to form major districts, each consisting of large sectors of one or more islands. These districts, like their constituent political parts, utilized a fono for conducting business. Whereas the village fono was concerned with the day-by-day administration of social and economic life and local political affairs, the issues treated at the district level were almost always those of political power and prestige. Nature had so blessed the islands with abundant food resources on land and sea and with a climate requiring little shelter or clothing that Smaoans did not need to form federations or to conquer territory for economic survival. Their compatible climate provided life's necessities and left people plenty of time to indulge in political maneuvers that might enhance the status of ambitious chiefs and their relatives.

> Feuding and warfare throughout Samoan history have been primarily (a) struggles within kin groups for control of their larger elite titles, (b) struggles among kin and locality groups to enhance their power and prestige position, and (c) a see-saw rivalry between...two great power systems...which at crises point could engulf all Samoa except perhaps Manu'a in war and devastation till one side or the other temporarily gained control.[8]

Because of the intense feelings of competition among chiefs, attempts in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to unite the islands under a single high chief never really succeeded. Occasionally, however, representatives from many sectors of the islands would gather, usually on the principal island of Opolu, to deliberate over isses of national interest. Chiefs of the village in which the great fono was to be held sent messengers throughout the islands to inform the villages ahead of time of the date of the meeting and the topics to be considered, enabling the local chiefs and heads of families to discuss the issues with their constitutents prior to attending the council. As many as 2,000 people would travel by footpath and canoe from all parts of the islands to watch and hear the deliberations.[9] The great fono would be held on the expanse of the village green with members of the assembly sitting cross-legged in their assigned sections from sunrise to sunset as the talking chiefs discussed the issues. So even at the national level, the fono provided the audience first-hand schooling in the art of Samoan political discourse.

Our earlier introduction to the fono system began with a description of the village council. But the fono pattern, in which the leader decided an issue only after it was discussed at length in open session, arose from an even more basic institution than the village council. Within each household and extended-family unit the ranking matai typically announced his decisions on important matters only after he had consulted with the responsible adults of his kinship group. Therefore, Samoan children's experience with the fono principle of consultation began at home, providing a basis for their understanding the process as it operated in the social and political units beyond the household.

I have suggested that the fono at each level of politicl unit served an important educational purpose. Actually the purpose was two-fold. First, observing the fono process acquainted the untitled citizenry with the procedures of government. Second, and perhaps more important, it better equipped the ordinary Samoan with standards for judging the characteristics of an effective chief. These standards were needed when the Samoan adult was called upon to help select a new chief for the family group or to determine whether a matai now holding the title was unworthy and should be deposed. In effect, the selection of matais followed a type of democratic procedure. When a matai title was vacated through the death, resignation, or deposition of a chief, each adult member of the extended family had a right to take part in the selection of the new chief. Theoretically, any adults in the family —male or female— could be elected to carry the title, but usually a male was chosen. And by custom, certain males typically received favored consideration. The deceased or retiring chief may have expressed a preference regarding who should succeed him; such a wish commoonly was given much weight by the family members. In most communities the former chief's brother or his eldest son had some special claim to the position. However, since the purpose of the selection process was to insure the appointment of a person whose individual characteristics best fit him for leadership, these close kin of the recent chief might be passed over and the position awarded to a particularly skilled and admired member of the group not closely related to the former matai. Even a capable son-in-law would sometimes assume the title. This election procedure, coupled with the right of the family members to unseat or exile an irresponsible chief, apparently was a significant factor in the matai system's sustaining its strength over the years. An inept or malevolent son could not automatically inherit his father's chieftain title, and an inadequate chief could not retain his post if members of the aiga chose to oust him. Hence, part of the ordinary Samoan's education for effective citizenship consisted of learning what traits made for wise matai behavior, both within the family and in the village district fono.

LEARNING SOCIETY'S ROLES

In aboriginal Samoa, as perhaps in most societies, the most prominent functions of education were to explain to the next generation the roles people filled in society and to teach children and youth how to perform well both in those roles they were obliged to adopt and in those they voluntarily chose for themselves. The following survey identifies a variety of the more significant roles in old Samoa and describes how, when, and by whom they were taught to each new generation. The roles are considered in the order they were met by Samoans who were advancing through the four stages of life —childhood, youth, mature adulthood, and old age.

The Child's Place in Samoan Society

Apparently the behavior expected of the Samoan child and the methods of educating children in this behavior during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were much the same as those observed by Mead in the 1920s, by Keesing in the early 1930s, and by Holmes two decades later. So I shall draw the estimates of child life in old Samoa from these accounts, supplementing the descriptions with material from Buck, Grattan, Gray, and Willis.[10]

Society held a set of relatively simple expectations for the young child, that is, for the child between the time of birth and age four or five. Children were allowed to feed at the breast until around age two or three, perhaps because this was the simplest device for stopping a infant from wailing. The child was expected to become accustomed to being cared for by any variety of members of the household —older sisters and brothers, aunts, and grandmothers as well as the mother. Children learned always to sit or crawl when in the house, to stay out of the sun, never to stand while speaking to an adult, to be cautious of fire, and to avoid tangling the strands of the mat weaver. They were not to interrupt adult conversation nor make noise near a group of adults. Their opinions were not welcomed by elders, nor did anyone older than the child tolerate that child's asking why or questioning the older one's authority. Children were taught not to touch the kava bowl or kava cup and not to crawl on father's bed to play if father was a chief and was nearby. Precocity was not encouraged. Each child was allowed to learn these tasks in his or her own time.

In later childhood —age five or six through 12 or 13— children were expected to contribute regularly to the family's welfare. Although they still had time for play and diversions, they were gradually inducted into the work-a-day world at a pace suited to their ability to carry out useful duties. By age seven or eight both boys and girls had taken part in most household work. They collected wood for the outside oven and learned some of the basic techniques of cooking. Girls helped feed the younger children and clean up the house. Boys carried water from the sea and collected fresh coral pebbles from the beach for the floor of their home. They learned to climb a coconut tree, to split open coconuts, and to roll pandanus leaves for weaving. They discovered how to fish in the reefs through accompanying their parents and older siblings on day-long excursions to the sea shore.

A particularly time-consuming duty for the older child was the care of younger brothers and sisters. This task of nursemaid and instructor was usually given to the girls of the family. But if no girls of suitable age were in the household, a boy would be assigned the task. Thus, as soon as a girl was large enough at age six or eight to carry a younger child on her hip, she was burdened with a sibling for much of the day. Her job was to entertain her young charge, keep him from disturbing the adults, protect him from other children, and prevent him from harming himself in dangerous adventures. Whenever possible, Samoan mothers avoided disciplining the young child. This was the job of the older child. If the young one made a nuisance of himself, it was the older child who incurred parental wrath. Consequently, the youthful nursemaids became "more interested in peace than in forming the characters of their small charges, and when a child begins to howl, it is simply dragged out of earshot of its elders."[11]

Older children tended to coax, bribe, and give in to their young siblings so as to avoid disturbing the audlts. These practices often produced four- and five-year olds who were "spoiled," petulant, and demanding. But the system of child training at this point corrected overindulgence by furnishing the growing child a new experience in humility. "Just as the child is getting old enough so its willfulness is becoming unbearable, a younger one is saddled upon it, and the whole process is repeated, each child disciplined and socialized through responsibility for still another one."[12]

A brother-sister taboo was imposed near the end of childhood. Up to age three or four, boys and girls received essentiallly the same form of training. In middle childhood some sex differentiation appeared in the kinds of tasks assigned to children, but during this period brothers and sisters could still work and play freely together. Then, around age nine or ten, they were taught to avoid a variety of types of social interaction. For the rest of their youth and maturity until old age, brothers and sisters were forbidden to touch each other, to sit close togeher, to eat together, to address each other in familiar terms, to walk together, or to mention matters of sex in each other's presence. Nor were they allowed to take part in the same small grouyp activities or dance on the same floor. The purpose of these proscriptions was not to foster distaste between brothers and sisters, but rather to encourage a form of mutual respect which would mark their relationship throughout life. In adulthood, brothers would be obliged to give special attention to the interest of their sisters and their sisters' children.

The foregoing style of child training produced a pattern of attitudes that would mark young Samoans' concept of personal-social relations the rest of their lives. For example, the practice of having grandparents, uncles, aunts, and other siblings take nearly as much care of a child as his or her own mother and father resulted in a relative lack of intense personal attachment between children and their biological parents. Children's feeling that a number of adults were their guardians and providers was reflected in boys and girls referring to all women in the family of their mother's generation as "mother" (tina) and all men of their father's generation as "father" (tama).

Apparently the fact that children distributed their personal identification among a number of family members reduced the likelhood that the young ones would suffer emotional trauma at the death or divorce of their biological parents. The carefully monitored age hierarchy of responsibility and privilege in old Samoa promoted attitudes or respect for people older than oneself and attitudes of disapproval for precocity. The early inclusion of the child in productive work for the family's welfare fostered an attitude of responsibility to the group, an attitude essential to the successful operation of the family-centered Samoan state.

Adolescence and Youth

Adolescence freed most Samoan girls from the burden of child care. By age twelve or fourteen they were usually skilled enough to perform the more demanding household tasks, so the duty of caring for infants was shifted to younger sisters. The typical teen-age girl learned to perform a woman's tasks by working alongside her mother, grandmothers, aunts, and older sisters. She mastered the skills of weaving a simple basket for carrying coconuts or produce from the fields, of preparing pandanus leaves and weaving them into floor mats, of digging taro roots, of preparing bananas and coconut cream and fish for cooking, and of selecting the proper leaves for stuffing a pig.

However, the actual task of cooking was performed by the men and boys. A teen-age boy learned culinary techniques by aiding the older youths and men of the household in cooking meals in an outdoor oven. When adolescent boys could accomplish this satisfactorily by themselves, they were expected to prepare most of the daily meals. By age seventeen or eighteen the average youth had been on enough fishing expeditions to be skilled in handling an outrigger canoe and in fishing among the reefs and in the open sea. On land he had learned to plant taro, transplant coconuts, and otherwise care for a garden.

Most boys and girls by their middle teens had earned the right to enter one of two village organizations. For the boys it was the society of untitled young and older men. The society, called the "aumaga" (ah-oo-MANG-ah), was viewed as the "strength of the village." This group worked under the supervision of the older chiefs in cooperative projects for the general welfare of the villagers. They tilled the fields, conducted fishing excursions, and engaged in public works. They were responsible for cooking the chiefs' food. And when an honored maiden from another district visited the village, members of the aumaga paid her a ceremonial call. The adolescent boy was proud to be a member of this important body. His election to its ranks was marked by a formal ceremony. And once he was in the aumaga, the sharp tongue of the supervising chief and the social pressure of his fellow members' blunt opinions and their physical feats served to mold the youth's personality into the form admired in Samoan tradition. He was "badgered into efficiency by rivalry, precept, and example."[13] He learned to strive for the golden mean, to exhibit neither laziness and backsliding nor a precocity that might too obviously overshadow his peers or threaten his elders.

Girls of age fourteen or fifteen could become members of the "aualuma" (ah-oo-ah-LOO-mah), a society of young maidens and unmarried women that composed the entourage of the high chief's ceremonial princess. According to custom, certain high chiefs in old Samoa had the right to select a twelve- or fourteen-year-old girl from the extended family to be trained into the duties of ceremonial hostess and dance leader. Since virginity was obligatory on the pricness or "taupou" (tah-oo-PO), she was placed in the keeping of the umarried women's society whose members slept together with the princess in a special house. They surrounded her with prestige and functioned as her chaperones, servants, and instructors. On ceremonial occasions, such as the visit of a group of dignitaries form another village, the taupou officiated as the high chief's hostess. As she grew older and approached the time of marriage another young virgin was selected to be trained for her place.

Samoan children's sex education, like much of their learning, took place at a relatively early age and in an informal rather than formal educational setting. By the time they had reached adolescence, most had gained a rather thorough impression of what sexual relations were all about. Since the Samoan house consisted of a single unpartitioned room, sexual intimacies among adults were frequently conducted not far from where young members of the family slept. Conversations among young people also contributed to their sex education as they related what they had seen or heard or suspected about members of the community. A further channel for learning was personal experience in sex activity. Premarital sexual intimacies were commonly expected of the majority of the community's youths. Sex experience was considered particularly normal for the Samoan boy. For the girl, community expectations were not entirely consistent. This caused something of a conflict for the girl in her teens. It was a matter of family pride, especially for a high chieftain's family, for a girl to be a virgin at the time of marraige. For a taupou it was a necessity. Proof of virginity was often demonstrated at the time of marriage by a public defloration ceremony during which an important male, either a chief or the intended groom, would demonstrate that the girl's hymen had been unbroken. However, it was apparently not unusual for the family to substitute a chicken bladder filled with blood to produce the flow normally resulting from defloration and thus, by subterfuge, to credit the girl with a virginity she did not deserve. Some families simply did not include the defloration ceremony as part of the wedding, thus avoiding any public display of the girl's previous sexual experience. Elopement, which was rather common, accomplished the same end. One social factor which apparently discouraged premarital sexual experimentation among young people in certain Western societies was the fear of disgrace at bearing a "bastard" child. But such a fear apparently did not operate to any degree in old Samoa. Children of unwed mothers were welcomed into the household and treated as the equals of the other children in the family.

In early adolescence the typical Samoan boy began to express serious interest in the opposite sex by having a friend or two represent his interests with the girl of his choice. This intermediary might be of either sex, but it was typically a boy friend near his own age and usually not a member of his own household. The intermediary served the suitor in several ways —impressed the girl with the suitor's many desirable traits, arranged rendevous for the pair, and warned the couple if the girl's brother was coming. Occasionally a girl would request the services of a friend as an intermediary to solicit the interest of a boy she admired, but usually it was the male who took such initiative. In any event, this role of intermediary represented a further set of attitudes and skills in which Samoan youth became educated through day-by-day experiences.

Adulthood

Passing from adolescence into adulthood in old Samoa did not entail the sudden adjustment to new responsibilities and privileges faced by youths in modern Western society. Rather, it involved the gradual refinement of attitudes and skills with which young people were already well acquainted. For most people it meant the further development of generalized male and female roles. But for some it meant learning behaviors required in the effective practice of several social and vocational specialities that marked Samoan village life, such as those of chief, talking chief, master house builder or boat builder, tattooing artist, medical expert, midwife, and priest.

A general expectation for nearly all male adults was that they could farm well and fish well. Part of the fishing role was the expectation that each man would be a good sailor, able to handle a small canoe by himself and to perform effectively as an oarsman or tillerman on the large ocean-going outriggers used in deepsea fishing and interisland voyages. Samoan seamanship so impressed the French explorer of the Pacific, Louis Antoine de Bougainville, that when he visited the area in the late eighteenth century he labeled the Samoan group The Navigators Islands, a title that continued in somewhat common use in the Western world throughout the nineteenth century. All education for the farming, fishing, and sailing roles consisted of on-the-job training, begun in early childhood and culminating in manhood.

A wife's most important function was that of childbearer. Large families were always desired, for they insured a labor force to work the family land, to fish the seas, and to provide a leisurely old age for parents. Women supervised the household and did the initial preparation of food, which was then cooked by the males. Women also worked in farming activities, in transporting produce from the fields to the village, and in reef fishing. Women were expected to weave mats from strips of dried pandanus leaves and to pound out sheets of paper-mulberry bark which were then painted in red-brown and black geometric designs to form what is known among Westerners as tapa cloth. These skills were all passed on from mother to daughter or from aunt to niece in the daily routine of living.

As Samoan men and women advanced past middle age and their abilities to perform the more vigorous physical work diminished, they were relieved of the more arduous farming and fishing labors. This left them time to spend with the children, telling them legends, demonstrating home crafts, and showing them how to fish in the shallows off shore.

Let us turn now from general adult roles to several of the most significant specialized adult occupations.

As suggested earlier, at the top of the power and prestige structure in Samoan society were the chieftain or matai positions. Basic prepration for assuming a matai post could be traced back to childhood and adolescence. During these early formative years the young had many first-hand opportunities to see which responsibilities matais carred and what rewards they received. The observant youth learned to distinguish between the kinds of chieftain behavior which earned a matai prestige and power and those kinds which diminished his influence and respect in the eyes of the community. Even the young child could recognize basic ways in which the duties and privileges of the matai of the family differed from those of other members of the household. For instance, when a person achieved chieftain status, he was usually exempted from small domestic tasks and from menial labor. His energies were directed toward supervising the industrial pursuits of the family and village, such as group farming endeavors, fishing expeditions, and public works, like repairing a washed-out mountain trail or preparing for a visit from honored guests. The matai was the one who assigned the nontitled members of the family their jobs. He was the one to whom all the fruits of their labor were given so he might distribute them as he thought fit. The distribution scheme usually channeled the most desirable items into the hands of the most prestigious, older members of the group. This meant that the chief himself ate the choicest portions of the fish and the tenderest of the vegetables, with the remainder distributed to the other members of the family according to their ages. The young children received the least appetizing items and, if food was in short supply, the smallest servings. The matai of the household was also expected to settle disputes that arose within the family and to represent the household in village and district matters. In effect, the model for matai behavior was daily visible to any youth who might aspire some day to assume a chieftain role.

Preparation for matai status culminated in adulthood as the young man

—or in rare cases, the young woman— attended fono meetings as an observer to learn discussion techniques and as he demonstrated in family living and community activities how nearly his beliefs and conduct matched those expected of the proper chief.

As already noted, each matai within his own household was the ultimate authority and played the same administrative and decision-making part as did the matais of other households. However, at the village and district levels matai functions were divided between chiefs and talking chiefs. The council of chiefs decided which of these designations an individual deserved. Certain personal characteristics were expected in all matais —honesty, bravery, fairness, and sincere support of Samoan tradition. But additional traits determined whether a perosn was better suited to the role of chief or of orator. The chief was traditionally an "exalted, ceremonious, supernaturally tinged, ultimately powerful and responsible leader —elite in its full sense."[14] Consequently, the matai who was quietly dignified, thoughtful, and decisive was typically selected to serve as a chief.

In contrast, the function of orator or talking chief was that of "steward, brain-truster, and executive to the chief and his adherent group, and the mental storehouse for memories and traditions, the custodian of group knowledge, the lawyer-like manipulator of words."[15] Therefore, fluent-speaking matais with accurate memories and executive skills would be designated as talking chiefs. Probably candidates for chieftain titles during their youth or young adulthood would see themselves fitted for one of these roles more than for the other and, by identifying with model chiefs and orators in their own villages, would seek to educate themselves in the requisite skills.

Of the two matai roles, the more signficant from an educational standpoint was that of orator. As mentioned earlier, there was no written form of the Samoan language before the arrival of Christian missionaries. Thus, the talking chief served as both library and librarian, as archives and archivist of legend, history, custom, and genealogy. When visiting dignitaris were entertained, it was the orator's responsibility to recite from memory the "fa-alupega" (FAH-ah-lu-PENG-ah). Ths was "a form of greeting used in all ceremonial oratory, best described as a compressed community history and 'Who's Who', since it contained honoured references to the local dignitaries in their order or precedence, together usually with traditional, historical, and genealogical conclusions."[16]

The talking chief also was the one who set the style for elegance of langauge that was so admired in Samoan culture. To a Samoan audience, the verbal garment in which an idea was clad was often more important than the idea itself. Samaon speech was ornamental and abounded in metaphor, allusion, and proverb. A listener unacquaianted with the wide array of figurative meanings in the language was apt to miss the point of much that was said during a fono discussion or a ceremonial address. Most metaphors were drawn from events in the immediate environment —fishing, farming, hunting, land and sea travel, manual work inside and outside the home, food and its preparation, games, festivals, and dances.

Three examples from the realm of sea travel will illustrate the nature of such allusive terms and phrases. The term "matagi taumauaina" literally means headwinds, but when applied to human discourse it means objections or contradictions to what one says. The phrase "Ua mama i oa, mama i taloa" literally means "the boat is leaking from gunwale to keel," indicating that the vessel is about to sink. When applied to a person it means he is hopelessly lost. The prhase "Ua fa'aalava'a a tai masa" literally means "like the boat channels at low tide" and refers to the fact that at low tide the water in a lagoon is quite shallow, forcing the boatman to follow the winding channels among the coral rocks rather than steer a straight course. When applied to social intercourse, it may mean a speech whose purpose is unclear or whose direction wanders, or it may describe a person who, because of indecision, withholds his opinion.[17]

Hundreds of these figurative expressions were woven through the old Samoan language, enriching its esthetic quality but rendering language mastery somewhat more difficult for the young and for the literal-minded adult. It was the talking chiefs who served as the prime creators and trasmitters of this elaborately patterned dicourse. From observing the orators' performances, Samoans young and old learned much about their culture —history, law, philosophy, oral literature, religion, etiquette, and the arts of persuasian and conciliation.

In addition to the chief and orator roles that dealt with the administration of government and of social affairs, there were several occupational specialties involved with the production of goods. The most prestigious was that of house and boat builder. Men who engage in this highly skilled trade were organized into a builders' guild that operated according to rather complex rules and traced its origin to a legendary conference convened at some time in the ancient past by the god Tagaloa (Tang-ah-LO-ah). To receive training as a builder, a young man apprenticed himself to an experienced craftsman, usually a relative of matai rank. This entitled the novice to provisional membership in the local branch of the society of builders. His apprenticeship was arduous, for the construction trades depended entirely on stone-age building techniques. An enormous expenditure of energy and time was required to fell trees and shape them with stone adzes into house beams and canoes. Logs for boats were hollowed out by burning and scraping. Sennit was used to lash roof to house post and outrigger to canoe. Not until the missionaries and Western traders arrived in the nineteenth century did Samoans acquire hammers and nails, knives, axes, and hachets.

After an apprenticeship sufficiently long to ensure a high level of expertise, the trainee was admitted to full membership in the builders' guild. Only then was he entitled to seek his own commissions to construct houses and boats. Although the general tendency in Samoan society was toward conserving existing cultural forms rather than introducing new ones, some measure of innovation was encouraged in the building trades. In house construction the builder was expected to produce a traditional round or oval structure with a high thatched roof supported on a series of posts. But beyond these basic requirements he was expected to imrpove on existing construciton techniques and add some novel feature that would make his style more appealing to the public than that of other builders. In the opinion of Buck, the successful evolution of the serviceable Samoan round house was attributable to "this spirit of competition" within the builder's guild.[18]

The construction of boats demanded no less skill and no shorter apprenticeship than did house construction. The master buiilder had to command the techniques for shaping several styles of canoes, from small ones for use just off shore to large ocean-going outriggers capable of carrying a large band of Samoans and their goods hundreds of miles across rough seas.

While men specialized in house and boat construction, women created a number of items of practical and ceremonial importance —decorative bark cloth, mats of several varieties, headdresses, necklaces, and body ornaments. The most widely valued of these were bark cloth and fine mats. Although producing cloth and mats demanded considerable craftsmanship, it did not compare in complexity with house and boat building. The requisite skills for creating cloth and mats could be learned at home from older women in the family without the necessity of the extended apprenticeship demanded of the novice builder. In virtually every household there were women engaged in bark-cloth and fine-mat work, so these crafts could not be considered specialized in the sense of being very selective or exclusive. This low level of selectivity is perhaps the principal reason that the women were not organized as a professional guild.

The production of bark cloth —called tapa cloth in the West and siapo (see-AH-po) in Samoa— was mainly in the hands of middle-aged and elderly women. The process involved peeling the bast or underbark from the paper mulberry tree, soaking it, scraping it smooth with clam shells, and pounding it with a hardwood beater on a wooden anvil to produce paper-thin sheets of fiber three or four feet wide and five to six feet long. When the sheets had dried, designs were printed on them by placing the thin material over a carved wooden tablet and rubbing dye across the surface to bring out the tablet's design. After this initial application was dry, other dyes were added freehand to accent elements of the basic design. Most tapa cloths were painted only in shades of brown produced from earth or bark materials. However, sometimes seeds or stalks of selected plants were crushed to prepare yellow, red, or purple dyes. Black was made from candlenut soot. Therefore, the education of a bark-cloth artist included training in the preparation of cloth and dyes from raw materials as well as in the application of the designs.

The finished bark cloth was put to practical use as wrap-around garments on ceremonial occasions and as a part of other ornamental wearing apparel like headdresses, but its more important function was as a symbol of wealth. It was used to pay for such services as house and boat construction or was given to a chief or friend on ceremonial occasions. A gift of cloth honored both giver and receiver —the giver for his generosity and the recipient for the esteem in which he was held. The more pieces of well designed cloth a person owned or could affored to give away, the higher the individual's status.

Mats were woven in several varieties by women young and old. Sleeping mats were plaited from half-inch-wide strips of bleached and dried pandanus leaves. Floor mats were made from inch-side pandanus. However, the most highly prized were "fine mats" woven with strips less than one-eight-inch wide from the inner bark of the hibiscus bush. Red feathers from the Fiji parakeet were often attached as decoration. Fine mats were among Samoans' most valued possessions and, like tapa cloth, served as objects of ceremonial exchange. Most girls first learned the art of weaving fine mats during their latter adolescent years under the direction of older women in the household, but they reached the peak of their skill and productivioty in adulthood.

Just as there were specialists in the production of such items as houses and boats, so there were also specialists in services. Four of the most prominent service occupations were those of tattooer, midwife, healer, and priest.

In status, the craft of tattooing paralleled that of house and boat building. Tattooers were organized into a prestigious guild whose legendary twin dieties, Taema and Tilafaiga, had ostensibly obtained tattooing instruments and learned the art in Fiji. Like master builders, tattooing specialists bore matai titles and were recompensed for their services by substantial gifts of fine mats and bark cloth.

On the part of the artist, the tattooing process demanded great steadiness of hand and a knowledge of the traditional designs. On the part of the subject, the operation demanded enough courage to bear intense, prolonged pain. The tattooing act consists of the artist's dipping the blade of a comb-like tool into pigment made from the nut of the lama or candlenut tree, then pounding the teeth of the comb into the subject's flesh with a small mallet. Boys capable of bearing the pain would submit to the operation around age sixteen so they might thereafter wear the designs as a symbol of their manhood.

> The time taken depends on the fortitude of the subject. The artist can finish the whole operation in three or four days. Such periods are endurance tests, of benefit neither to the subject nor the operator.... By performing the tattooing intermittently, with rest to allow the inflammation to subside, the patient has a much easier time. The usual time to complete the full operation may be from four to six weeks.[19]

Males were tattooed from waist to knees and sometimes on the hands and wrists, but never on the face. When females were tattooed, the designs were applied to the legs and on the wrists and hands with rather sparser lines than on the males. The guild had evolved basic designs which the individual artist was expected to embellish with his own details. The tattooing craft, like the skills of house construction, was transmitted from one generation to the next by an apprenticeship system.

I noted earlier that the women's crafts of bark-cloth and fine-mat making were pursued in virtually every home, so they were not considered specialized vocations. In contrast, the occupations of midwife and of healer were followed by a relatively small number of elderly women who perpetuated their knowledge by teaching the medical arts to their middle-aged daughters and nieces.

A final specialized service occupation was that of priest. In old Samoa good health and illness, healing and hexing, and success and failure in dealing with nature were all linked to the system of religion. Therefore, a priest could be expected to function as a healer and caster of spells, as an interpreter of puzzling events, as an archivist of knowledge about taboo acts and places, as a performer of rituals, and as an expert on unseen forces or spirits. Although priests formed an occupational subclass, they were not organized into a powerful priesthood that would dominate the practice of institutionalized religion. Rather, religion was closely integrated with the political and social aspects of the matai system. The priest himself bore a matai title and functioned as a servant of the ranking chief. Priestly duties were combined with chiefly and oratory functions. For a younger man aspiring to priesthood, a knowledge of the calling was learned from serving priests on ceremonial occasions and from receiving direct instruction from a priest who was willing to act as tutor.

Old Age

The onset of old age earned Samoan men and women relief from the more strenuous labors of adulthood, and it enhanced rather than diminished the respect paid to them in the family and community. The Samoan habit of honoring the elderly was consistent with the strong tendency of the society to conserve traditions, to respect increasing maturity, and to discourage rapid change and precocity. Opinions of old sages were highly regarded. A matai was seldom divested of his title because of age. He held the position until death unless he voluntarily resigned in favor of a younger man who might more readily bear the considerable responsibilities of the office. Or the old matai might be replaced if he became demented or so feeble that his judgment or vigor was seriously impaired.

As the elderly retired from the more demanding aspects of farming and fishing, they acquired more time to spend with the children and with their own generation. In doing so, they performed important educational fucntions. One of the most important roles of the old men was that of educating the younger men in Samoan traditions. The "fa'asuaga" (fah-ah-su-ANG-ah) was a meeting of old men of the village to discuss

Samoan legends and customs. Although only men with matai positions were entitled to participate in the discussions, the young men of the village were welcome to sit outside the open-air house and listen. Not only were such sessions conducted at the village level, but within each household the elderly schooled the young in genealogy and family history.

Old men often occupied their hours rolling and braiding sennit from the fibers of coconut husks, a task pleasantly pursued while chatting with friends. For old women, a great part of the day was spent weaving mats, manufacturing bark cloth, looking after the smaller children, and preparing thatch. As the elderly worked, they not only taught their crafts to young members of the family but helped convey a sense of Samoan history and traditional attitudes by talking of times past.

REWARD AND PUNISHMENT — THEIR USE FOR MOTIVATION AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Four rather obvious assumptions about education on which the following discussion is founded are:

1. No learning occurs unless the person desires to acquire a particular skill or type of knowledge. In other words, people do not "just learn" at random. They gain only those learnings which they feel motivated to acquire.

2. People learn those things they believe will satisfy their needs. Therefore, striving for need-fulfillment becomes the motive for all learning. The term "needs" as used here refers both to physical necessities (food, drink, avoidance of injury, and the like) and psychological wants (self-esteem, social approval, achievement, curiosity, and others).

3. Reward and punishment intimately affect the learning process. A reward is any act or object which a person interprets as satisfying a need or promising to satisfy one. A punishment is any act or object which an individual interprets as preventing or as promising to prevent need fulfillment. Thus, from an educator's viewpoint, the promise of reward can be used to entice an individual to learn, and the promise of punishment can be attempted to convince the learner to prefer one course of action to another.

4. Each society evolves patterns of reward and punishment which distinguish its form of culture from that of other societies.

The aim of the following discussion is to identify the most prominent forms of reward and punishment used in old Samoa in order to promote learning and to encourage conformity to traditional patterns of thought and action.

As perhaps in all societies, the forms of reward and punishment used in Samoa varied with the learner's age. For Samoan children, the principal rewards were verbal commendation from adults and older siblings, opportunities to engage in attractive activities, avoidance of physical punishment, and safety from the vengeance that spirits of the dead or "aitu" (ah-EE-too) inflicted on people who violated taboos. Likewise, the main forms of punishment, as the reverse side of the coin from rewards, were scolding, ridiculing, withholding privileges, slapping and spanking, pelting with stones, and threatening harm from an angry aitu.

Small chidlren were usually punished by their mothers, but occasionally a father would administer a whippiing for what was considered a serious offense. A child under one year of age usually was not spanked. However, after one year he was expected to understand what he was told. If he did not obey, he would be slapped on the legs, face, or buttocks with the hand or whipped across the legs or buttocks with a coconut-leaf broom. To stop an infant from crying, parents or older siblings might cast a handful of small pebbles at him or simply shout for him to quiet down.

Forms of punishment in middle and later childhood included scolding, ridiculing, withholding privileges, slapping, and frightening the boy or girl with threats of injury by an aitu.

During adolescence one of the principal rewards boys might look forward to for learning skills, working diligently, and abiding by traditional Samoan values was eleCtion to membership in the aumaga, the untitled men's society. Within the aumaga they were urged to emulate the exemplary older members, were complimented for successful performance, and were berated for their shortcomings. As was true during childhood, precocity and assuming authority or privilege beyond one's years were not admired and were punished by verbal censure and social avoidance. Although the slow learner or late developing youth was more often excused than the one who displayed unseemly initiative, continued ineptitude was not approved. If an older youth deviated markedly from the conservative pattern of the matai system, he was considered a threat to the society and might be punished severely, even to the extent of a serious beating and banishment from the district.

Just as adolescent boys were rewarded by admission to the aumaga, so girls were rewarded by membership in the unmarried women's organization, the aualuma. There were also other inducements for conforming to approved female behavior. General approval in the community was one. And as older family members pointed out to adolescent girls, a young woman who gained a reputation for skill and industry in womanly tasks was in a much stronger position to wed a desirable husband than if she were known as unapt or lazy.

In effect, the strongest reward and punishment for influencing adolescents' learning in old Samoa were the awarding and withholding of social approval.

By the time the typical Samoan reached adulthood, he had probably so completely incorporated into his own personality the standards and attitudes of the society that he received from his own conscience much of his reward for adhering to, and punishment for deviating from, established cultural learnings. This inner resolve was strengthened by the individual's recognizing the serious social consequences that his behavior carried for his entire aiga or extended family. The psychological identification among family members under the matai system was particularly strong. As noted earlier, land was seldom individually owned. It was the property of the aiga, and parcels were assigned by the matai to different segments of the extended family to cultivate. All the yield from both agricultural and fishing efforts was turned over to the matai for distribution among family members. Consequently, a man or woman who farmed or fished well was recognized for contributing to everyone's welfare. LIkewise, in the ceremonial exchanges of food, bark cloth, and fine mats, the matai served as the representative of the entire aiga in the exchange process. The honor gained from a bountiful largess was shared by all members of the family and could be experienced by each as his or her own reward. The prospects of earning this group-shared esteem and of gaining the valued approval of one's own relatives stimulated women to master bark-cloth and mat manufacturing and encouraged men to become skilled in hunting pigs, in fishing, and in ceremonial cooking. Young men, and to a lesser extent young women, were motivated to develop chieftain qualities by the hope of being rewarded in middle age with a prestigious matai title and its accompanying power.

Paralleling these positive inducements were negative sanctions applied to adults who deviated from the Samoan way. Sanctions covered a range that included mild criticism, severe public censures, general unpopularity, the threat of ill fortune at the hands of a spirit, such physical injury as a beating with clubs, fines (livestock, taro, mats), temporary or long-term banishment from the village, destruction of the malefactor's personal property, and death. These forms of punishment were applied against an individual for transgressions against members of his or her own clan or village.

However, sanctions for transgressions against members of another aiga were a somewhat different matter. Just as the honor achieved by one member of a family was shared by each other member, so also was the blame for wrongdoing against members of another aiga or village. To avenge the murder of a member of the family by an outsider, the men of the offended aiga would kill the first male they met from the offending clan. For damage to valued plants or trees at the hands of an individual from another family, the aiga which had suffered the loss could retaliate by destroying property belonging to the other clan, whether or not the transgressor himself had any direct connection with that property. However, such retaliationg was not inevitable. Old Samoan custom included a peaceful possibility for settling inter-family disputes. When someone committed a serious offense against a member of another aiga, a delegation of chiefs and their supporters from the transgressor's extended family could visit the offended family's village and offer an apology in the form of gifts and acts of contrition. When the delegation arrived at the village, they would seat themselves on the ground for hours in the hot sun in a display of humiliation for their kinsman's sin. If the offended family considered the apology sincere and sufficient insurance that the crime would not be repeated, the two aigas would culminate the incident in forgiveness and feasting. However, if the apology was not accepted, the mutual destruction of life and property would continue.

So it is seen that strong psychological identification among relatives in ancient Samoa was an important factor in maintaining social control and the conservation of tradition. Group sharing of honor and of guilt gave each family member a particularly good reason to exert pressure on kinsmen to abide by the established rules of conduct.

TEACHING HISTORICAL BACKGROUNDS

Lacking written language, Samoans depended mainly on three oral literary forms for preserving and teaching the historical and philosophical foundations of the culture:

1. Legends, myths, or folk tales.
2. The fa'alupega or description of the hierarchy of honored titles for a given village or district along with suggestions about their origins.
3. Proverbs alluding to historical or legendary events and people.

Legends were told by almost any adult. However, the older men of the village were apparently the most common narrators of stories about the past. The fa'alupega, on the other hand, was related solely by designated talking chiefs. Samoans considered it not only bad taste but definitely bad luck for an unauthorized person to recite a fa'alupega. In contrast, proverbs were everyone's province, embellishing both the formal speeches of talking chiefs and the everday conversations of the entire community.

The following samples of these three forms of oral history illustrate some of the cultural content they conveyed from one generation to the next.

First, a brief exasmple of Samoan mythology. The universe was Nothingness until there appeared a series of personified objects like Big Rocks and Cloudless Skies. Eventually the Creator, Tagaloa Lagi (Tang-ah-LOW-ah LANG-ee), struck a rock from the heavens, and it tumbled into the sea. He struck again and again, spilling into the ocean the rocks which were to become the islands of Samoa, Fiji, and Tonga.

To inspect the progress of his handiwork, Tagaloa's daughter in the form of a snipe was sent to the different islands. Finally, on the island of Upolu she scratched the ground, and vegetation sprouted. With the passage of time, the trees and plants rotted, and the rot generated worms which turned into men.

Eventually Tagaloa begot a son, Pili, by the daughter of the Tui Manua (TOO-ee Mah-NEW-ah), high chief of the easternmost cluster of islands in the Samoan group. Pili spent his youth in heaven, then returned to the place of his birth from where he swam west to visit the larger Samoan islands. On Tutuila he was treated with contempt because of his poor success at fishing. But he was accepted on Upolu, where he settled, married a local girl, fathered four sons, and farmed an enormous taro patch. In his old age Pili divided the island among the three eldest sons, and in so doing established the permanent political divisions of Upolu.

> To Ana he alloted the western third, known as A'ana, along with a spear symbolizing war. The eatern end, Atua, he gave to Tua, with a gardening tool symbolizing agriculture. The intervening area fell to Tuamasaga, along with a fly-flap, which was a badge of office standing for oratory.[20]

On his deathbed Pili stressed to his sons the virtue of doing each thing in its own time and doing it with a will: "When you wish to fight, fight; when you wish to work, work; and when you wish to talk, talk."

The second important sort of oral literature was the description of the hierarchy and the history of chieftain titles for a locality, the description known as the fa'alupega. A segment of the fa'alupega of Manua is shown below. It is interpreted to mean that at the top of the authority structure was the Tui Manua, the most sacred and respected of the ancient Samaoan chiefs. His personal possessions were so revered that they were given to the next highest positions in the hierarchy. Then came the supporting chiefs in descending, order, followed by the most important talking chiefs.

The Fa'alupega of Manua [21]

The Tui Manua	
The Faleula	The sacred house built by Tagaloa
The Fine Mats and Sleeping House of the Tui Manua	Sacred because of their contact with the Tui Manua
The Tufele	High Chief of Fitiuta
The Tui Olosega	High Chief (King) of Olosega
The Misa	High Chief of Ofu
The Loalagi	High Chiefs Sotoa (of Luma) and Lefiti (of Siufaga), advisers to the King
The Tootoo	The Talking Chiefs (House of Three)

When visitors appeared in a village or when important ceremonies were conducted, it was the custom of the local talking chief to speak to the audience, reviewing the fa'alupega of the attending chiefs. This constant repetition of the chieftain heirarchy enabled the members of this oral culture to keep straight the power and privilege structure of their society.

The third important form of oral history was the aphorism or proverb based on legend. The typical talking chief enjoyed interlacing his oratory with adages, for they provided him unparallaled economy of expression and allowed him to exhibit his skill in linking present-day concerns with the society's ancient heritage. In the few words of a proverb, he could recall to the audience's minds a host of beliefs, events, and personages that were portrayed in the proverb's underlying legend. Obviously a listener was bound to miss much of what was meant in both formal speeches and daily discourse unless he or she was well acquainted with the culture's store of myths. So it was to everyone's benefit to learn the mythology alluded to in the ubiquitous proverbial expressions.

The relationship of adages to their antecedent myths can be illustrated through the following three examples.

The first proverb is one used to suggest that someone has experienced unexpected good fortune or might hope for such: "Pepe made a strange catch." (O le faiva 'ese lo Pepe.) This expression derived from the story of Chief Pepe who was catching pigeons at a waterway. Whie Pepe crouched with net ready, another man some distance away jumped to cnatch a pigeon but only succeeded in frightening the bird toward Pepe's hiding place. Just as Pepe swung his net at the pigeon, a fish happened to leap from the water, and the net captured both bird and fish in one swoop. This proverb referring to Pepe's good fortune came to mean any stroke of luck that might befall a person when his attention was directed toward another matter.[22]

The second adage was a kind of advice, a warning to beware of traitors: "Tufugauli's ears go wandering about." (Ua tafao taliga o le Tufugauli.) King Sun, the ruler of the islands of Atafu-mea, was famous for the way he oppressed his subjects. One day as some girls discussed their deplorable state and cursed their ruler, they were overheard by a boy named Tufugauli, who was feigning sleep in a corner of the house where they chatted. Later the boy reported the event to his relative, King Sun, who was infuriated and thereupon severly punished the people of the village. Since everyone except Tufugauli had suffered King Sun's wrath, the people realized that the boy had been the informer. It was then that the girls commented, "Tufugauli's ears go wandering about."[23]

The third saying —"Heaven was spat on" (Ua anu Lagi)— was used in reference to someone who had behaved improperly toward those in authority. Such conduct was regarded as particularly odious in old Samoa. According to one legend, the Samoan people had originated in a land to the east called Pulotu. The king of this land had a daughter named Lagi (heaven) and a son named Fali (grass) who traveled together to visit Papatea. However, upon their arrival they were shocked at the rude treatment they received at the hands of the Papateans, who spat on Lagi and trampled Fali underfoot. When the king of Pulotu heard of this, he was furious. In retaliation he exterminated the Papateans and devastated their land.

Hence, the phrase "It has been made into a Papatea" was subsequently used to describe any village razed in war. And the phrase "Heaven was spat on" was used for referring to any incident of impolite treatment of people of rank.[24]

SUMMARY

As viewed in this chapter, education in Samoa at the beginning of the nineteenth century was aimed at teaching each new generation the general structure of their society, the roles people performed in it, the nature of the culture's historical-mythical foundations, the rewards for abiding by society's expectations, and the punishment suffered for ignoring group standards. All of these learnings were transmitted by physical demonstration (as with the skills of fishing, farming, weaving, and cooking) or by speech. There was no written language, nor were there any formal schools. The main institutions of instruction were the family and such village organizations as the council of chiefs and the umarried men's and women's societies.

The enduring strength of old Samoa's pattern of education and of the subject-matter it propagated was recognized in Sir Peter Buck's comment in 1930 that:

> . . . the pleasure derived from the exercise of native institutions is perhaps the most important factor that has led to the persistence of Smaoan customs and helped them to resist the disintegration that has taken place in other parts of Polynesia.[25]

Chapter 3

Missionaries — 1830-1900

Western civilization's peaceful invasion of Samoa throughout the latter two-thirds of the nineteenth century was conducted mainly by Christian missionaries, by commercial interests, and by representatives of several major world powers.

The most influential of the mission groups were the London Missionary Society and the Methodist and Catholic churches. The principal commercial intrusions around the middle of the century were by merchants who served the needs of passing ships and whetted the native population's appetite for Western goods. In the latter half of the century European and American land speculators arrived in large numbers, often to establish plantations and to ship such items as copra to Western markets. The three foreign governments whose representatives became heavily involved in Samoan political affairs duirng the latter 1800s were Germany, Great Britain, and the United States.

By far the greatest Western influence on education in the nineteenth century was exerted by the missionaries, so our main focus in Chapter 3 will be on the mission groups. However, the setting in which they operated can be understood adequately only if the discussion of education and religion is prefaced by an overview of the political and economic developments of the day. It is with this general overview that we begin.

POLITICS AND COMMERCE

Prior to 1830 Samoa had been touched only slightly by Western culture. For several decades in the late 1700s and early 1800s explorers and whalers had landed occasionally to replenish food and water supplies and, as far as possible, to enjoy the companionship of native girls. In addition, a few escaped convicts from Australia had made their way to the islands. Some of the mariners and convicts stayed on, adjusting themselves to native ways, but most were only passing intruders into Samoan life. The rude and exploitative conduct of these rough-cut varieties of European and American man apparently did not earn the admiration of most Samoans. Fights broke out, heads were smashed, and among sea captains the Samoans gained a reputation of ferocity that caused voyagers in the Pacific to avoid this cluster of islands.

The first major peaceful influx of Western culture began in 1830 with the arrival of the Reverend John Williams and his party of Tahitian mission teachers. They came on the sixty-foot brigantine *Messenger of Peace*, built in Tahiti from native materials under the direction of Williams, who had been an ironmonger in England before entering the service of the London Missionary Society in the South Pacific. The fact that Williams' party included a Samoan named Fauea, who had become a Christian in Tonga, proved most fortunate. When their ship first arrived on Savai'i, Fauea insured their welcome by explaining to his countrymen that the visitors came in peace from the churches in Tahiti and Tonga, perpared to teach the wonders of the world to the Samoans. During his eloquent address, Fauea illustrated the superiority of the white missionaries by displaying a variety of useful cloth and metal items carried on the ship, and the Samoan audience seemed convinced that the newcomers should be allowed to stay.[1]

Soon more missionaries came from Europe and from South Pacific mission stations to share in converting the islanders to Christianity, a task they accomplished with astonishing speed. According to Commodore Charles Wilkes, who led a U.S. Navy exploring expedition to the islands in 1839, at the time of his visit two-thirds (14,850) of the entire Samoan population were already professed Christians. By the end of the 1880s all Samoans belonged to some Christian congregation.[2]

The trail blazed by the missionaries was quickly followed by white traders and the agents of Western governments. It is perhaps not surprising that religious, commercial, and foreign-government interests were often closely linked. For example, in 1842 the first foreign trader to export copra was J.C. Williams, son of the Reverand John Williams, master of the Messenger of Peace. The younger Williams, while still a subject of Great Britain, also served as the consul and commercial agent of the U.S. Government in Samoa for several years following Commodere Wilkes' visit. As a further example, in the 1870s when an American named Colonel A.B. Steinberger sought to annex Samoa to the United States, missionaries of the London Missionary Society tried to foil his efforts by seeking Brtish annexation of the islands.[3]

Four interrelated changes in the islands' economy were wrought by the white men. Foreign consumer items started to compete with certain of the indigenous ones on the local market, the control of land in the most arable sectors of the islands began to shift into foreign hands, the export of copra to produce coconut oil for Western markets began, and low-cost plantation workers were imported from China and Melanesia.

In the area of consumer items from abroad, metal gradually replaced wood and stone for such implements as fishing-spear points, drill points, and adze heads. Saws and knives gained early favor. Nails grew in popularity to replace sennit for binding joints together in house and canoe construction. Soap, matches, and European tobacco were adopted by the islanders. Eventually European tinned meat was to become a widely used commodity to supplement, and to some extent to replace, the traditijonal fish and pork in Samoan diets. But from the viewpoint of the traditional Samoan inter-family and inter-district struggles for power, the most significant of the imports was the gun. Foreign commercial and political interests found that one of the most effective ways to convince Samoans to turn over land rights to white men was to promise them firearms. As Western weapons were introduced in larger numbers, the traditional crafts of manufacturing clubs and spears declined and eventually disappeared.[4]

The transfer of land to foreign hands became one of the hottest political and economic issues of the century. As noted earlier, the Samoan family's most valued possession, its land, was not held by indviduals but by the corporate extended family, with the ranking chief entrusted to decide how the property should be utilized. He was not authorized to dispose of the lands on his own initiative, but was expected to obtain the consent of members of the extended family —the aiga— before trading or selling any property. However, in practice some chiefs mangaged to work around this custom and sell property without the approval of their relatives.

The most serious land ownership problems occurred betwen 1860 and 1896 when white missionaries, plantation developers, and real-estate speculators poured into the islands, laying claim to large tracts of native properties through honest and dishonest purchase, confiscation, or promised favors. The eventual magnitude of the problem is illustrated by the fact that in 1889 the land claims of foreigners reached 1.7 million acres, which was about one million acres more than the total land area of all the islands combined. British claims amounted to 950,000 acres, German to 100,000, and American to 650,000.[5] To settle the property disputes, the Berlin Congress, which was a conference of representatives of the three nations, was convened in 1889. At the Congress, the German, British, and American delegates established a land commission which investigated the many demands and in 1894 validated 56 percent of the German, three percent of the British, and seven percent of the American claims.[6]

During the entire nineteenth century the peace of the islands continued to be disturbed periodically by struggles for power among high-ranking Samoan chiefs, stuggles which had precipitated frequent bloodshed before the missionaries' arrival. The white man's presence served to add several new dimensions to the traditional disorders. Representatives of the major foreign governments doing business in the islands reflected their own antagonisms toward each other by occasionally siding with opposing Samoan factions. And while missionaries urged their followers to eschew violence, foreign traders and military men furnished the Samoan combatants with firearms to be paid for in land and political favors. Though the foreign powers did exert some efforts to unify the islands under a king, at the same time they fostered political segmentation by attempting to establish naval stations to suit their own ends and by giving at least tacit support to private Germans, Britains, and Americans who sought to obtain plantation land, missionary holdings, and personal trading rights in the islands.

When all attempts to unite the islands under a single government failed, the foreign powers took the governance of Samoa into their own hands. With the concurrence of certain Samoan leaders, they divided the islands into western and eastern segments. Germany already had established flourishing plantations in the larger and more arable western islands, and the United States had expressed great interest in placing a naval coaling station in the best harbor in the South Seas, Pago Pago Bay, on the eastern island of

Tutuila. So Germany was awarded the four western islands and the United States the seven smaller ones to the east. Britain relinquished her interests in Samoa in exchange for Germany's dropping her claims in Tonga and in several contested areas of Africa. The planning which led to this division of Samoa took place over the 1889-1899 decade, but the official assumption of power by Germany and the Untied States did not occur until 1900.

It was in such a political-economic climate as the above that the new church-centered Samoan educational system evolved over the last two-thirds of the nineteenth century.

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

After their arrival in the early 1830s, the leaders of the London Missionary Society contingent —best known by the initials LMS— quickly learned the native language and prepared a phonetic orthography so that the Samoan language could at last be cast in written form. Today, a century and a half later, that original orthography continues as the Samoan standard. With one curious exception, it has served effectively for recording thought in writing, for translating foreign literature into the native tongue, and for teaching foreigners the Samoan language. The one exception is the sound "ng" as it would appear in such English words as "sing" and "rang". This consonant blend, so common in Samoan, was transcribed by the missionaries simply with the letter "g", apparently because the first English type-setters to work in the islands lacked enough letters "n" in their fonts to accommodate all "ng" and "n" sounds in the Samoan language. Consequently, today newcomers to the language continue to mispronounce such words as Pago Pago (which should be sounded Pahng-o Pahng-o) and "aiga" (ah-ING-ah).

The first major scholarly task attempted by the LMS delegation was that of translating the Bible into Samoan. This was accomplished with such skill that 80 years later a member of the LMS's most active competitor in Samoan mission work, the Methodists, wrote:

> The Bible is the chief textbook in the schools, and from early years the people are thoroughly instructed in its teachings.... To the Samoan Christian there is no book like it. It is his first and last message, the great record of God's greater love. The Samoan version is the most perfect translation of all the South Seas versions. The missionaries of the London Missionary Society have conferred a great boon upon the people. Some Methodist missionaries bore an honourable part in connexion therewith. It is a monument to their scholarship and zeal.[7]

Within a decade of Williams' first arrival, the Congegationalist LMS had placed 12 white missionaries at strategic locations and covered the whole of the islands with a network of mission stations and schools. By 1840 the great bulk of the population were adherants of Christianity.[8]

However, the London Missionary Society enjoyed no monopoly in the islands. Methodism had actually predated the Messenger of Peace by two years. Several Samoans and the Tongan Methodists whom they had married in Tonga had settled in South Savai'i in 1828 to establish an active following. Under the guidance of these Christian Polynesians the faith spread rapidly. At the group's request, a Reverand Peter Turner in 1835 was sent to the western islands to direct Methodist mission activities in a more sophisticated fashion than the Tongans could manage. Turner later reported finding 40 places on Sawai'i and 25 on Upolu where an estimated total of 2,000 people professed "Tongan Lotu" or Christian belief. Within 20 months after his arrival, 80 villagers had erected their own churches, and total converts were reported to have increased to 13,000, a much too optimistic figure, apparently inflated by the Methodists' taking credit for many LMS followers. Turner wrote that 4,000 people were then attending 300 religious-education classes, and scores of teachers who had newly learned to read were busy in the midst of 6,000 "...scholars, teaching them the wonderful lesson card and the art of reading."[9] These schooling figures were also too high, reflecting the tendency of each denomination to make claims reflecting as much hope as reality.

Turner's stay in the islands was brief. After four years he was instructed to honor an agreement betwen the LMS and the Wesleyan Missionary Society which relegated to the LMS all mission work in Samoa and to the Methodists exclusive rights in Tonga. In June 1839 he sailed for Tonga, reporting that he left behind 80 churches, 187 village schools, 487 teachers, and 6,345 students.[10]

Over the next 17 years most Methodists on Sawai'i, Manono, and Upolu seemed faithful to their original church, but their educational system faltered without its formal connection with the Wesleyan Society, leaving most adherants "ignorant to a proverb."[11] The Wesleyans in 1856 renounced their earlier territorial agreement with the LMS and sent seven men to Samoa to revive both the official church structure and the system of education. In doing so, they honored the talents of their LMS competitors by adopting the LMS version of the scriptures as their basic instructional material.

Roman Catholics arrived in 1845, eventually distributing 12 mission stations throughout the islands. They operated from headquarters on Upolu, inland from the islands' busiest seaport of Apia.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century virtually all Samoans were Christians. About two-thirds affiliated with the London Missionary Society, and the remaining one-third were distributed almost evenly between the Methodists and Catholics. Mormon missionaries appeared in 1888 to attract a relatively small following. Seventh Day Adventists established a center but never succeeded in drawing more than a few islanders into their work. By 1926 the proportions of the Samoan population attached to the five denominations were nearly the same as before the turn of the century (Table 3-1).

Table 3-1

SAMOANS' RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS — 1926 [12]

Religion	Western Samoa	American Samoa
London Missionary Society	23,474	6,985
Wesleyan Methodist Mission	6,477	295
Roman Catholic Mission	5,842	1,047
Mormon Mission	898	353
Seventh Day Adventist Mission	27	—

The several denominations were not distributed evenly throughout the islands in the nineteenth century, nor have they been in the twentieth. The LMS enjoyed the greatest dispersion and continues to do so. In some areas it has managed a secure monopoly. For example, in the far eastern Manua group (Tau, Ofu, and Olosega islands) virtually the entire population has been composed of LMS congregationalists until the present day. In contrast, the Wesleyans, with almost no influence in the east, have continued to maintain their strongholds on Manono and in several areas of Savai'i and Upolu.

The LMS and Methodist societies from the beginning emphasized the development of a large corps of native pastors who established themselves in the villages and became intimately involved in daily village life. Although the Catholics copied this approach to some degree by locating catechists (the Catholic counterparts of the Protestant pastors) in villages, in the main they and the Mormons concentrated their efforts around mission centers. To some extent, an ethnic tinge has entered the denominational picture. As the decades passed, a growing number of islanders of mixed Samoan-European blood were born. Usually they lived around the main seaports frequented by foreigners, like Apia in the west and Pago Pago in the east. These same seaports and other selected locations, like Leone on Tutuila, are the spots in which the Catholics early established schools that tended to cater to children of mixed parentage. Consequently, by the end of the 1920s within the mixed-blood community there were nearly four times as many Roman Catholics as there were followers of any other denomination.[13]

Few phenomena have been of more interest to students of nineteenth century Samoan history than the juxtaposition of two seemingly contradictory facts: (1) More than any other Polynesian peoples, the Samoans have been able to maintain their basic social system and customs against the onslaughts of Western culture, yet (2) Christianity enjoyed a more rapid, less discordant or strife-ridden dissemination into the entire population than has been true in perhaps any comparable society. The explanation for this conundrum seems to lie in the way wise strategies on the part of missionaries combined with fortuitous traits of Samoan culture that permitted the adoption of a variant of Christian belief and practice without undue disruption of traditional life. Throughout the following pages I shall describe these strategies and traits in order to illustrate how such an educational triumph could occur.

One important variable was the fact that in old Samoa there was no strongly entrenched, institutionalized religion with a priesthood whose welfare and power would be threatened by the advent of Christian missionaries. This does not mean that the ancient Samoans were irreligious. Indeed, they shared with other Polynesians a common acceptance of several deities and of fundamental religious beliefs. In addition, they had developed local religious concepts and a variety of their own gods. Not only did they honor traditional gods, they frequently deified the spirits of deceased chiefs of high station and attributed to these supernatural beings great feats of skill, such as those of swimming long distances and of exploring far-off seas in their canoes. Such items as war clubs or mats that had been owned by these venerated ancestors were sometimes invested with magic powers and were honored as sacred objects.

In the Samoan theological hierarchy, there were four main levels of importance, the highest of which was inhabited by the most powerful and universally recognized deities. An example of this variety was Tagolo (Tang-o-LOW-ah), a god of miraculous powers who had been in charge of the deities that create the earth and its inhabitants. However, the most common variety of god, the aitu (ah-EE-too), was at a lower level and consisted of a class of spirits associated with particular districts or families, gods that exerted influence over war or the pursuit of particular trades, such as canoe building, mat weaving, or fishing.

> Regular intercessions including feasts, other food offerings and kava libations were made by the matai to their aitu to ensure protection from war, punishment, disease or death, but the object of these solicitations could be expected to be roundly cursed and abused by the indignant priest if there was any failure to produce the desired results within a reasonable period. The place of even the family god in the affections of his people rested in the last analysis upon his usefulness.[14]

So Samoans, already a religious people before Christianity arrived, maintained priests who specialized in the conduct of religious observances. However, Samoan theological belief was, compared to Christianity, a rather weak institution in that it was neither well structured nor consistent from one district to another. Furthermore, the priests were not organized as a guild that existed as a separate hierarchy within the broader society. Instead, they simply fit into the dominant political structure, the matai system. The preists themselves were matais and derived their status in the social system far more from their positions as chiefs than from their functions as specialists in religious affairs. Thus, the Christian missionaries did not face the competition of a powerful priesthood order whose status would be threatened by the introduction of a new religion and its own clergy.

The missionaries, from the time they first arrived in the islands, enjoyed immediate success in propagating their faith because they fashioned their evangelical strategies to suit key characterists of the existing social system. They began by directing their most sincere preaching at the chiefs, who subsequently were appointed as deacons in the church, empowered to represent the white missionaries, to lead the singing, and to conduct the regular evening service in the village church. Keesing has observed that "there could not have been much basic difference between the patriarchal system of the Old Testament and the matai organization.[15]

Talking chiefs found the church to be a highly appropriate arena in which to exhibit their traditional talents. Their basic role continued intact. Only the subject-matter changed as they learned Christian doctrine to replace or supplement the stories and mythology that often had been the foci of their oratory prior to the coming of the missionaries. The parables and proverbs of the Bible were easily acquired by the talking chiefs, since traditional Samoan oral literature was so rich in figures of speech, in aphorisms, and in illustrative tales.

The structure of the Samoan church organizatyions —particularly that of the dominant LMS denomination— grew to parallel the original matai political structure. Each village church was responsible to a sub-district headquarters, and oftentimes several sub-districts were under the direction of a larger district mission center presided over by one or more white missionaries. In contrast to the practice in the Society Islands and Cook Islands, Samoans usually refused to move from their villages into central mission settlements for their education. Consequently, it was necessary for the missionaries to delegate authority to village teachers who, after the initial years of the missions, were prepared in mission schools as pastors or "faifeau". This meant that the great majority of Samoans were under the direct tutelage of a Samoan pastor, who received only intermittent supervision from a foreign missionary.[16] The nature of this relationship betwen missionary and native faifeau is reflected in the memoirs of the Rev. George Turner (not to be confused with the Methodist Peter Turner), who served for the LMS at a mission station on the south coast of Upolu in the 1840s and 1850s. His district contained 16 villages with a population of 3,000. Ffteen "teaching and preaching curates" functioned under his guidance.

> On looking...at my position ecclesiastically, I found that I had actually become a sort of bishop. There was no avoiding it; my...curates were, as all native teachers necessarily are in an infant mission, perfect babes in religious knowledge and experience, and looked up to me to decide in everything affecting doctrine or discipline, or the selection of new teachers, and many other matters.

> While presiding at our meetings, I endeavoured to make them all think, give their opinion, and lift their hands in a vote; but I could easily see that they looked on me as their superior, and that their main anxiety was to know what I thought, and vote accordingly....
>
> I met with my staff of teachers and preachers once a week, gave them a skeleton of a sermon for the following Sabbath, which each copied; expounded a passage of Scripture as a further help for the Sabbath; received reports of anything of importance transpiring in the villages, and advised accordingly; and, in addition, spent an hour in the common day-school work of teaching these big men correct reading, writing, arithmetic, and some of the simple outlines of geography and astronomy. People in England hearing of a *native teacher and preacher* are apt to think of an *educated* man, fully qualified for the work which his name indicates; but such is by no means always the case. If it is in an infant mission, where no institution for training native teachers has been in operation, they are likely to be at the very bottom of the scale of literary acquirements. Take, for example, the teachers in the district where I commenced my labours in Samoa; if I asked them to write down on a slate 15, three fourths of them would wite X5 or perhaps 105. That, too, is a fair specimen of what they were in Bible knowledge. At that early stage, also, it is common to find out that the strangest errors have been made, and propagated as Scripture truth. I discovered one day that some of the teachers had been preaching up and down the district, giving Nebuchadnezzar a tail, snout, and hoof, declaring that he actually had been changed into a *real* four-footed beast!
>
> My teachers being so scattered, I could only assemble them once a week for instruction. This I found very inadequate to meet the case. To take in the sermon and lecture was about as much as they could attend to properly in the one day. Their advanced age was also against them, so that much of what I gave them in the more secular class was forgotten before another week. I kept it up regularly, however, and some made encouraging progress.[17]

The lack of independent thought that Turner, with regret, observed among his teachers may be accounted for by the Samoan penchant of looking to a high chief as the source of authority and decision. But it was not only the missionaries' official position at the top of the clerical hierarchy that won them the high regard of the native population. Even more impressive to the Samoans were the wondrous objects of Western civilization that the missionaies introduced along with their religion. The Samoans seemed to consider the white man's array of worldly goods as necessary concomitants of a dedication to Christ and to the foreigners' god. The missionaries capitalized on this impression, using their superiority in worldly pssessions as a mark of their superiority in matters religious. As one leading chief in the early days of mission work declared:

> It is my wish that the Christian religion should become universal among

> us. I look at the wisdom of these worshipers ofJehovah, and see how superior they are to us in every respect. Their ships are like floating houses, so that they can traverse the tempest-driven ocean for months with perfect safety.... Their persons, also, are covered from head to foot in beautiful clothes, while we wear nothing but a girdle of leaves. Now I conclude that the God who has given to his white worshipers these valuable things must be wiser than our gods, for they have not given the like to us. We want all these articles, and my proposition is that the god who gave them should be our God.[18]

Perhaps the most significant of all the foreign innovations was the introduction of the printing press and written language. The fact that there was no written version of the Samoan language prior to the 1830s proved to be a great boon for the Christian cause. When the missionaries devised an orthography utilizing the roman characters of the English language, and when they set up their first printing press in 1839 at Falelatai, they gained control over the reading matter that would be available to Samoans over the following decades and well into the twentieth century.[19] Samoans young and old pored over the Bible and sacred song book, committing to memory long passages of the scriptures and thereby astounding Western visitors to the islands with an aptitutde for rote memory that had become natural in a society that formerly had to depend entirely on the vehicle of the human mind to carry its history and oral literature from one generation to the next.

In effect, the absence of a written or printed language in Samoan society before the missionaries arrived meant that the Bible and Christian religious tracts were not resented as competitors for printed materials already in the culture. Rather, they were entrancing additions that enriched Samoan life and gave a new sort of power to those who would master the art of reading.

Another important strategy of the missionaries, related to the production of the Bible and scriptural songbooks, was the LMS, Methodist, and Catholic practice of learning the local language and of providing all instruction --oral and written-- in the native tongue rather than expecting the Samoans to learn English. The missionaries, by mastering the Samoan language and translating the Bible into it, eliminated the language barrier between the people and the Word of God.

Before leaving our discussion of the missionaries' early success with the islanders, we should note that in a wide array of minor elements, Biblical writings proved surprisingly compatible with Samoan tradition. In way of illustrating this fact, the Rev. George Turner of the London Missionary Society collected more than 200 Samoan concepts or practices which had direct parallels in the scriptures, particularly in the Old Testament. here are six samples of the parallels he identified:

> "Adulterer ...shall surely be put to death" (Leviticus XX:10). This was also Samoan law.

> All — "All the cattle of Egypt died" (Exodus IX:6). Hyperbolical, probably for many .... this is a very common form of speech in Samoa. If two or three houses fall in a gale, the tale goes on that "all are down, not one standing." Of, if a number of the people are suffering from an epidemic, the report spreads that "the whole land is covered with beds."
>
> Anointing — "Thou anointest my head with oil" (Psalms XXIII:5). Scented oil for the profuse anointing of the head and shoulders is a common mark of hospitatlity in Samoa. In travelling it protects from the burning rays of the sun, and prevents excessive weakening perspiration. In going to battle, also, they are dripping with oil.
>
> Branches — "Took branches of palm-trees, and went forth to meet him, and cried, Hosana" (John XII:13). The attendants of a great chief, in passing along the road, carry one or two of the ti leaves raised in the right hand, and a herald runs a few paces before, calling out, as he meets anyone, the name of the chief who is coming.
>
> Burn — "We will burn thine house" (Judges XII:1). This is a punishment in Samoa for rebels, deserters in war, and other acts of provocation.
>
> Foot — "Keep thy foot when thou goest to the hosue of God" (Ecclesiastes V:1). It is considered rude...in Samoa to stretch out the foot in any formal assembly. All sit cross-legged.[20]

In summary, the missionaries went to considerable effort to adapt their evangelical techniques to key characteristics of Samoan culture. As noted earlier, the conversion of Samoans to Christianity was achieved with remarkable speed. However, this triumph was not won without a struggle. Nor were the outcomes of mission work always quite what the missionaries had intended. Samoans displayed an ability to give Christianity a distinct stamp of their own. They often interpreted the Scriptures and the admonitions of the white missionaries in ways that permitted Samoans to maintain certain traditions that the missionaries considered sinful or at least unworthy of true believers.

To understand which of the missionary goals were achieved in pure form and which were reached in an altered way, we shall next review the specific objectives of the missionaries' education work and shall estimate how effectively they were attained.

THE OBJECTIVES OF MISSIONARY EDUCATIONAL EFFORTS

The most obvious aim of mission work was to convert as many Samoans to Christ as possible. However, this was only the apparent manifestation of a more basic objective —the creation of a truly Christian community. If such a community was to be achieved, much work was to be done in altering the native population's current beliefs and behavior. The sort of

Christian code of conduct envisioned by the missionaries could be effected only if major changes were made in the typical Samoan's attitudes toward sex in general, extramarital relations and polygamy, easy divorce, lewd songs and dances, scantiness of dress, lack of privacy in the home, tattooing, wearing hair long by men and short by women, the exercise of authority, brutal forms of punishment, lack of respect for individual property, and war as an instrument of policy enforcement.[21]

Although the missionaries could take pride in the long list of conversions to Christ that they had compiled by the mid-nineteenth century, they were often disappointed in the degree to which the more specific marks of "Christian behavior" was achieved. In other words, their efforts at retooling Samoan society met with mixed success. For example, in the earliest days of mission work, some of the pastors were distressed when Samoans not only failed to abandon the traditional siva dance —the Samoan counterpart of the Hawaiian hula— but they accompanied the dance with the tunes of the Christian hymns.

Furthermore, traditional Samoan culture strongly influenced the aspects of Christianity that Samoans were willing to adopt. They readily accepted the idea of a single, omnipotent deity, but at the same time they were unwilling to abandon belief in local aitu or family gods. They enthusiastically adopted the public forms of worship —preaching, singing, exerting pressure through matai authority to raise funds for the church, and inserting pious phrases and biblical allusions into their speech on secular occasions. But the emphasis that the missionaries placed on private, personal responsibility for one's behavior did not fit well with Samoan tradition and thus was less frequently heeded by the native parishioners.[22]

Some missionaries, in moments of despair, expressed their regrets that their teachings had been adopted only imperfectly by their Samoan followers.

> Instead of accepting Christianity and allowing it to remould their lives to its form, the Samoans have taken the religious practices taught to them and fitted them inside Samoan custom, making them a part of the native culture. Christianity has changed Samoan theology a little, that is all. Otherwise the people are mentally arrested; there is no religious questioning or conflict —everything is easy-going. Christianity, instead of bursting the bonds of the old life, has been eaten up by it.... The faifeaus fit back easily into the native life, and though they see what should be done or agree to the admonitions of the white missionaries, they say "you can't alter that —that's fa'a Samoa" (tradition).

However, these expressions of disappointment were only occasional. In the main, the missionaries appeared to rejoice in the extent to which they had been able to influence the lives of local inhabitants over such a brief span of years. In the latter 1830s an anonymously written publication for the London Missionary Society claimed the society's major areas of progress were those of:

1. The saving of life and property by instilling the virtues of honesty and Christian morality.

2. The improvement in the position of women, particularly the abolition of polygamy and hard labor.

3. The suspension of licentiousness and the introduction of decency and propriety in dress and manners, since "modesty was unknown and chastity little if at all regarded. The moral habits of the natives were at war with the best interests of society.... The islands were under no restraint from the laws of morality or decorum. But in this respect the influence of Christianity was at once felt.... No sooner converted than decently dress...."

4. The introduction of a system of ethics, of established laws, and the regular administration of justice.

5. "The national intellect was awakened and expanded by the Gospel. The greatest of all the benefits received by the South Sea Islanders will be found to have originated in the new and sublime truths of Christianity...to elevate and expand the intellect no less than they purify the heart. The islanders are no longer debased and stupid savages, they are Christians."

6. The introduction of the mechanic arts accompanied by the reception of the Gospel. "Once he stretched himself supinely in his miserable hut of poles, surrounded by vermin and covered with filth, the fit companion of his nearest neighbor, the swine. Now he approaches his neat white cottage upon a graveled walk, through grassy lawn ornamented with shubbery and shaded by lofty trees. New comforts for natives —European furniture and attitudes and habits of industry."

7. Improvement of agriculture is another benefit which the islanders owed to the missionaries. "In their original condition the natives from ignorance and sloth cultivated only such vegetables as were necessary for the support of life."[24]

Two aspects of this early LMS publication are of particuylar note. First is the self-righteous tone directed toward people who were not imbued with the Protestant ethics of covering the body most thoroughly, of practicing monogmomy, and of working beyond the amount required to provide the necessities of daily living. Second is the fact that the booklet expressed as much hope as accomplishment. The impression given in the wording of the document is that the virtuous behavior reflected in the seven areas of progress had become nearly universal. But in truth, more than a century later the village pastors were still pressing wayward parishioners to adopt the habits of modesty, chastity, diligence, and respect for private property mentioned in the LMS publication. Patterns of life that marked Samoan culture of pre-missionary times have been hard to erase.

Although the entire missionary community agreed on the basic goals of Christian belief and conduct, not all of them conceived the manifestations of these goals in the same way. This difference in point of view was perhaps shown most clearly in the varied interpetations the missionaries placed on displays of hysteria that sprang up in certain districts. The most prominent of these revivalist oubreaks occurred in the late 1830s and early 1840s in the Leone district of Tutuila supervised by the Rev. A.W. Murray, an LMS representaytive who had a history of supporting similar exhibitions of possession by the Holy Spirit prior to his arrival in the islands. In a letter to friends in London, Murray described the behavior of Samoans at an emotionally charged religious gathering as an:

> Awakening! Some were unable to restrain their feelings, others fell to the ground as if dead, while others, overcome with feeling, left the house. A great many of the members were completely overcome...loud weeping in some cases —eyes glistening with tears of joy and love or of the deepest concern— a deathlike stillness except as interrupted by the cries of those unable to restrain their feelings. What an amazing contrast does the present state of things present to that which existed then? The whole island is in a state of deep religious excitement throughout its length and breadth, and few comparatively, are wholly unconcerned about their souls' salvation. What hath God wrought! [25]

Other LMS missionaries in Samoa were less delighted with the violent displays of emotion about which Murray so marveled. And although similar outbursts occurred in some other districts of the islands, none was apparently so pronounced nor extended as that found in Murray's sector of Tutuila. It seems likely that the attention and praise that Murray directed to the physical manifestations of the Holy Spirit were important factors causing such hysterical behavior, which was barely tolerated or was even discouraged in other mission stations.

Though some dispute might arise among the white servants of God about the proper interptation to put on certain of the Samoans' religious reactions, there was complete agreement on the desirability of having the native population attend church regularly, dress suitably, read the Bible and memorize key passages, and conduct daily prayer sessions. In all of these things the missions achieved success that drew the admiration of European and American visitors. For example, the emissary of the United State government, A.B. Steinberger, who spent some months in Samoa in 1873-1874, reported to Secretary of State Hamilton Fish after his visit that:

> A correct census, taken in 1863 by the missionaries of the London Missionary Society, gave a total population of 34,603. In 1869 the religious census taken was as follows:

LMS —Independents, Presbyterian	27,021
Wesleyan Church	5,082
Roman Catholic Church	3,004
	35,107

> The natives rapidly and honestly accepted the teachings of the missionaries, and their precious seed fell on good soil. The native was kind, hospitable, and apt in learning.... Now a Bible is found in every house; daily prayers are the rule, and not the exception, in every family. There is a church in every village built of stone, and plastered, inside and out, with lime made from coral. Divine service is regularly attended by the whole native population.[26]

The fact that the combined number of adherents claimed by the church groups exceeded the total population reflected the practice of the competing denominations to overestimate their memberships.

Not only were Sunday services diligently attended, but the entire Sabbath was observed as a holy day. As early as 1839, when the American naval expedition under Commodore Wilkes paid an extended visit to Samoa, the Americans found that they could entice no Samoans to work on Sunday. Rather, the day was universally spent in activities related to worship. This practice of respecting the Sabbath as the Lord's day persisted in the villages into the 1980s.

The missionaries' goals, in addition to those of transforming Samoan society into a Christian community, included several incidental changes in daily life that were associated with the culture of England but had nothing to do with Christianity or the Protestant character. One example of such changes was the introduction of Western commercial practices. Another example was the importance of the game of cricket.

Commerce: A typical missionary attitude toward commercial ventures was that of John Williams who wrote in 1837 that:

> The Samoan islanders have nothing to dispose of but a little cinet, and small quantities of tortoise shell. In a few years, however, should our labours be successful, they will be taught to prepare hundreds of tons of coconut oil, and large quantities of arrowroot, annually; to manufacture sugar; to cultivate their land; and to supply our shipping with provisions. Thus, wherever the Missionary goes, new channels are cut for the streams of commerce; and to me it is most surprising that any individual at all interested in the commercial prosperity of his country can be otherwise than a warm friend to the Missionary cause.[27]

Indeed, over the last half of the nineteenth century, there were at least a few members of the missionary delegations who directed considerable attention to mercantile ventures and thereby bettered their own personal fortunes. As someone said of Christian missionaries who went to Hawaii in the nineteenth century, "They went to do good and did well." However, most of the mission workers in Samoa apparently restricted their activities to the realms of religion and social service and did not come away rich men. William B. Churchward, who served as acting British consul in Samoa in the 1880s, commented that "I, personally, have found all missionaries that I have had the privilege of dealing with, men of sterling zeal and probity, interfering in now way in affairs beyond their strict sphere of action."[28]

Cricket: As a visitor to Samoa in the 1980s can readily observe, the English game of cricket continues to be a popular sport a century after it was first widely adopted in the islands. Prior to the arrival of the missionaries, the games or sports in which Samoans engaged were limited in variety but attended enthusiastically by most members of the community. Club and spear throwing were favorite amusements, and the islanders enjoyed wrestling matches. They did some surf riding inside the reefs in canoes or on flat boards about one yard long. Their hunting amusements consisted of catching pigs and pigeons.[29]

In old Samoa, games had an important community social value. Minor competitions within a village brought the young people and adults together for some hours of relaxation from their tasks of fishing and farming. Competitions between different sectors of a larger village or between two or more villages brought together larger numbers of people and provided the occasion for feasting, singing, and dancing. The host village furnished food for the visitors —spectators and competitors alike— and gave everyone an opportunity to chat and make new acquaintances.[30]

After the mid-nineteenth century, British sailors —apparently with missionary approval— introduced the sport of cricket. The Tongans who lived in Samoa participated enthusiastically, as they had already learned the game in their own islands. However, according to Churchward, the Samoans at first declined to take part. Finally, in the port town of Apia on Upolu in the early 1880s the sport caught the fancy of some of the leading Samoan residents. This set off a rash of cricket playing, so that:

> Soon all the neighboring towns were playing and cricket at last became quite an epidemic. It not only took possesion of the island of its origin, Upolu, but crossing the straits on both sides, spread all over Tutuila and Savai'i, until the whole group was infected with it. Age, sex, and dignity alike fell under its influence, until at last there was not a village in which it was not vigorously practised to such a degree as to seriously interfere with domestic affairs.[31]

So it was that the missionaries not only instructed Samoans in the realms of theology and morals but also in the areas of commercial enterpise and —with the sailors' help— recreation.

We may conclude that the educational goals that guided mission work in

Samoa were broad and, in the main, were achieved in a remarkably short time. Universal church attendance and knowledge of the Bible and of Christian hymns were achieved more rapidly in the Samoan population than in perhaps any similar society. However, at the same time, Christianity and the behaviors associated with it in English Victorian society were not assumed in a pure form by the South Sea islandcers. Samoans managed to intepret missionary teachings in a fashion that permitted them to maintain those elements of their original culture that they particuarly cherished, even when such elements seemed in conflict with the letter of the law as expounded by the white *papalagi* —the "heaven bursters"— from abroad.

THE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

Now that we have considered the general strategies and objectives of the mission efforts, we shall review key elements of the educational system by which the objectives were implemented. The four aspects of this system on which our discussion centers are those of (1) the variety of educational institutions evolved by the missionaries to propagate the faith, (2) the personnel that staffed the institutions, (3) the teaching materials employed, and (4) the teaching methods that were used.

Varieties of Educational Institutions

It seems apparent that the rapid spread of Christianity through Samoan society was due in great measure to the fact that the missionaries established educational institutions that reached virtually every age level. The principal locations in which religious study took place were the village church, the pastor's or missionary's home, the individual homes of church members, and the central seminaries for teacher training. By the latter part of the century there were also several "high schools".

From the viewpoint of serving the greatest number of people, the most important of these institutions was the church. And the most important day for instruction was the Sabbath, when the church premises were in constant use from dawn till dusk. As already mentioned, from the days of the mid-nineteenth century to the present time, Sunday has been strictly observed by Samoans as a holy day, dedicated entirely to understanding and honoring the Lord and His works. Dressed in their best attire, nearly all members of the village attended the series of church services. All work was suspended for the day. No journeys were undertaken, except in an emergency. Children were forbidden to play games. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, food for the Sabbath was always prepared on Saturday night, a practice that gave rise to the Samoan name for Saturday, *aso to'ona'i* or "the day on which food is cooked for the morrow." By the mid-twentieth century, however, it was more common for the boys of the family to rise early Sunday morning to do the day's cooking.[32]

A typical Sunday at church consisted of at least the following sequence of activities. A regular morning service attended by church members and other villagers began at perhaps 8:30 or later, after which a special meal called *to'ona'i* was eaten in groups. The chiefs and orators ate together, then the women, and finally the young people —each group bringing baskets of cooked food to consume in an atmosphere of pleasant fellowship in central houses. At 11:00 or at noon the children assembled for Sunday school. At 2:00 the adults attended Bible class. At 3:30 or later the regular afternoon church service began, followed by another meal in family or friendship groups. The evening would be spent at home in religious conversation, scripture reading, and prayer.

Next to the Sunday church services, the most important institution for giving instruction was the day-school conducted in the church building by the Samoan village pastor —the _faifeau_ or catechist. As an LMS missionary, Barradale, explained:

> This is a very good arrangement, because the Churches do not have pews or seats, like ours. The floor is quite bare, except for the mats on which the boys and girls sit. There is plenty of room for all the classes, and there is plenty of pure fresh air, because the doors are generally left open and the windows are never shut.[33]

In reflection of practices in English schools, the day-schools over the latter years of the century assumed the same structure of "standards" found in Britain, similar to the "grades" in American elementary schools. The curriculum at the different levels in the village school was described by Barradale in the following way:

> The little ones in the lowest standards do not learn very much, just their alphabet and figures, and how to read (in Samoan) easy words and count up to 100. But something has been gained, if only they learn how to sit still when they are told, and get just a little idea of what school means, for they are ready then to learn more when they are moved up. In Strandard 3 they are taught reading and writing, simple addition, the multiplication tables up to six times twelve, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer. When they have passed the sixth standard and are ready to leave school, they have been taught a good deal more: reading, writing, geography —a good deal about the earth's shape, the points of the compass, the use of maps, definitions of continents and peninsulas and promontories, and the geography of their own islands and some other countries. They are examined each year on different parts of the world. Artithmetic and Scripture make up the time-table. So you see they have had an opportunity learn a good deal before they leave the village school.[34]

In the latter third of the century the most successful of the boys from the village schools would compete for an appointment to a district boarding school, a kind of junior-secondary institution presided over by the missionary in charge of the particular district. In the LMS school system there were seven districts and thus seven boarding schools, each drawing its student clientele from an area that might encompass as many as 40 villages. A boarding-school student studied reading, handwriting, composition, arithmetic, geography, Samoan grammar, and the scriptures

—particularly Old Testament history and the life of Jesus.[35]

LIke the LMS missionaries, the Methodists also conducted district schools. But because Methodists were fewer in number, their districts were large and the boarding schools fewer. For example, in the latter 1900s the entire island of Savai'i composed a single Wesleyan district, supervised by the Rev. George Brown, who conducted the boarding school at the district headquarters in Satupaitea.[36]

The most promising graduates of district boarding schools could continue their education at the denomination's theological seminary or, near the end of the century, at the LMS high school on Upolu. Originally the only advanced educational opportunities available were in the seminaries of the three principal sects —LMS, Wesleyan, and Catholic. Consequently, these institutions not only attracted boys who seriously wanted to enter the ministry, but also ones who sought general advanced studies but had no other option than to follow the training course for pastors and catechists. In order to serve such students more adequately, LMS authorities in 1887 opened a four-year high school for secular studies at Apia. Two years later the school was moved to its permanent location at Leulomoega on Upolu. In the 1890s it enrolled between 80 and 100 boys, ages 12 to 18, living in 10 to 12 houses on the school grounds, each house presided over by a married Samoan monitor. The year's tuition fee was two dollars. As was true at the theological schools, land was set aside at Leulomoega so the boys could grow their own food.[37] The curriculum focused on both academic and industrial-arts subjects. The academic studies covered advanced school subjects, including higher arithmetic and algebra. Manual training covered the same skills found in many English technical schools —carpentry, building construction, blacksmithing— plus tropical agriculture. Upon graduating from the high school, boys who wished to enter the ministry continued their studies at the theological seminary in nearby Malua.[38]

Although Samoan boys received the more favorable schooling opportunities, girls were not entirely neglected. In the district boarding schools, the missionary's wife would often conduct classes for the more apt or more fortunate girls from the surrounding villages. Furthermore, from the beginning of the LMS and Methodist theological seminaries in the middle of the century, the young men attending the institutions were permitted to marry and live with their wives on the school grounds. The wives of the missionaries who were in charge of the schools gave regular instruction to the young Samoan matrons in such domestic arts as sewing and cooking as well as in Bible studies.

However, it was not until 1891 that a Miss Schultze and Miss More opened a high school specifically for girls. The institution was originally situated at Malua but in 1892 was moved to a new building at Papauta, about two miles inland from the port of Apia. At the time of its official inauguration by the Countess of Jersey on August 29, 1892, there were only eight girls enrolled. The week before the inauguration, the mother of

Robert Louis Stevenson, who had settled in Samoa, visited the site, which she later described as:

> ...a most suitable arrangement. In the main building there are sitting- and dining-rooms for the ladies downstairs, besides the large school-room; and on the upper story, two small bedrooms and the large dormitory, with verandahs back and front. Then outside, and quite apart, there is a kitchen and a native house, where the girls will take their meals.[39]

By 1894 the original enrollment of eight had increased to 71. And by 1900 several buildings had to be added to accommodate more than 100 girls then attending high school. In 1901 Miss Moore would leave the institution at Papauta to join a Miss French in establishing a similar high school for girls at Ataulama on the island of Tutuila to furnish advanced education for girls from the eastern islands of Tutuila and Manua.[40]

At the pinnacle of the educational hierarchy were the LMS, Methodist, and Catholic theological seminaries —the training centers for the native pastors who bore the major burden of propagating Chrstianity in the islands. The LMS institution at Malua was the largest and most prominent of these schools and continues today to be the key educational center for preparing Congregational ministers for both Western and Eastern Samoa. Because of the significance of the Malua Seminary, we shall consider its program and facilities in more detail than we have in the cases of the village, district, and high schools.

The London Missionary Society's Theological Seminary. The school, usually referred to as the Malua Institution, was established in September 1844 as the Samoan Mission Seminary by the Rev. George Turner and a Mr. Hardie. It was founded for the purpose of giving a sound four-year education in secular and religious subjects to teen-age boys who would become teachers in the villages. Between 1830 and 1844, the native teachers or pastors had been forced to carry out their duties with only a weak background of desultory instruction that they might receive once a week when they met with the local missionary for a few hours at the LMS headquarters for their district. The inefficiency of the native teachers continued to distress the missionaries until, in March 1844, the LMS leaders met to appoint Turner and Hardie as founders and principal instructors in the new theological seminary.

The first year's class consisted of 25 boys, ages 10 to 20. Each year a similar number were accepted from a host of applicants until, by 1860, there were 70 Samoan religious teachers attending the seminary. There were also 50 wives of these students, receiving instruction in British home-making skills and in the Bible. When Turner left Samoa in 1859, he tabulated the past productivity of the institution in the following terms. Of the 263 youths sent by missionaries to study at Malua:

25 are dead, and with three doubtful exceptions, finished their course

> with joy; 18 were dismissed but are giving evidence of reformation; 14 have been laid aside as failing in health or qualifications; 5 are among a class which we are sorry to designate fallen and bad; 70 are now under instruction in the institution, preparing for the work of the ministry; and 131 are now laboring either in Samoa or in some of the rising missions to the westward [as far off as New Guinea]. [41]

When the missionaries had first hunted for a site on which to locate the seminary, they were offered an entire village by a generous chief. However, in order not to disturb existing living quarters, Turner and Hardie chose a spot "in the bush" some distance from Apia and paid the family that owned the land enough calico and hardware to purchase 25 acres. In subsequent years additional land was bought until the institution owned nearly 300 acres by the close of the century. The school itself consisted of a row of nine whitewashed, thatched houses facing each other across a central park. At the end of this rectangle stood a large central building used as the church and lecture hall. The rows of houses were for the staff. The 50 or so married students each lived with his wife in an outer row of Samoan houses, which consisted of a series of wooden posts supporting a thatched roof, with blinds of plaited coconut palm fronds that could be lowered between the posts to protect the residents from wind and rain and prying eyes.

From the outset, Turner and his co-workers established a curriculum and a set of operating principles designed to prepare students with both intellectual and manual skills and, at the same time, to make the institution self-supporting. Some hours were designated for classes focusing on the basic subjects of the curriculum —systematic theoology, church history, scripture exposition, practical theology (the work of the Christian ministry), scripture history, arithmetic, geography, writing and composition, and natural philosophy. All of these subjects were taught in the Samoan languyage. A small amount of English was also offered. Other hours or other days were devoted to training in manual skills —house building, carpentry, masonry, fence building, and the like. In addition, students were taught improved methods of farming.

> Every student has a plot of ground which he cultivates as his own, and each has his share of bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees. He works regularly at his plantation, raising yams, taro, and bananas till the day he leaves, and the student who succeeds him becomes heir to all he has left. To a limited extent they are allowed to sell, for their own benefit, their surplus produce, and this, with the clothing which we give them, supplies them from year to year with all they want, without being dependent on their friends for anything, while they are going on with their education.[42]

Eventually the entire cost of conducting the institutions was born by the students' industry, supplemented by gifts from nearby congregations. Only the missionaries' salaries were paid by funds from Britain.

The lives of students at the school followed a strictly administered routine throughout the week. The institution's rules fobade quarreling, the use of tobacco, going off the campus without permission, using lights after a certain hour in the evening, night fishing, and the like. As a punishment for infractions of these rules, students were charged one shilling for each incident. The fines were placed in a central fund with which students purchased oil. This money, supplemented by what a student earned by selling produce he grew, kept him supplied with a light for his room the year round.

Much of the missionaires' behavior and the activities planned for the school were intended to serve as models of Christian leadership which, it was hoped, the graduates would apply in the villages to which they would be assigned as pastors and teachers. In way of illustration, Turner described a typical Sabbath evening in his home:

> I allowed any of the students to attend a service which I had with our servants, and every evening the room was crowded. I found this a useful service, not only as a duty to our domestics, but as a pattern to the [prospective] teachers of how to improve their Sabbath evenings. A question of the catechism, with Scripture proofs, or a section of Bunyan, and a chapter of the Bible, read verse about, and simply explained and applied, together with singing and prayer, well and happily occupied our Sabbath evening hour.[43]

In such a fashion pastors were trained for the position of spiritual leader to Samoan villagers over the last half of the nineteenth century.

As already mentioned, the Methodists operated a similar theological school. It had been founded in 1863 as a Central District Training Institute at Satupaitea on the island of Savai'i. The first months were spent in clearing the land, erecting houses for students, and building a classroom structure, ready to accommodate the first class of 16 students, 10 of whom were married. Over the years the number of students grew and a stone school house and new living quarters were erected. However, before many years had passed, the seminary was move to the more cosmopolitan island of Upolu, where it operated for subsequent decades on its permanent site at Lufilufi.[44]

With the close of our discussion of the theological seminaries, we complete our overview of the educational institutions established in the mid-nineteenth century by Christian missionaries. As I mentioned, the mission workers designed their educational system so that all age levels in the community received instruction in Christian doctrine and selected secular subjects —instruction that took place in a variety of physical settings, including the church, the home, and the boarding school for advanced students and for pastors in training.

THE PERSONNEL OF THE EDUCATIONAL HIERARCHY

The Samoan religious community of the post-1830 era was ordered in a hierarchy of power, prestige, and knowledge of the Lord's Word.

At the top of the structure were the white missionary men. Next came their wives. On a third level were the native pastors, known as faifeaus in the LMS and as catechists in the Methodist and Catholic churches. Below the villege pastors in the LMS and Methodist systems were the deacons, who traditionally were important matais of the village. On the next step down were the wives of the village pastors. Then came the official members of the church. After the regular church members were the faithful church attenders who did not yet enjoy the status of church membership. At a still lower level were the more casual church attenders. They were known as Christians but they did not consistently behave in ways that warranted their being elected to church membership. At the bottom rung of the prestige ladder were the irreligious members of the community —ne'er-do-wells and sinners who seldom if ever came to church or read the Bible.

In a special category within this religious social structure were the seminary students. While attending theological school, they perhaps ranked someplace between regular church members and pastors. Wives of these men apparently occupied a slightly lower status position than did their husbands.

By inspecting the characteristics of the people in the upper echelons of this social system, we may understand something of their assigned roles and of the traits they needed in order to fulfill the roles successfully.

The European Missionaries

The white missionaries achieved their position at the apex of the religious structure through their expertise and their ability to dispense favors that no other sorts of people were able to offer.

Their expertise was of several varieties. First was their knowledge of God's Word and their skill in interpreting how to apply this Word in daily living so as to attain eternal salvation. Second was the missionaries' superior literacy —not only their ability to cast the Samoan language into written and printed form, but also their skill in reading and speaking such difficult foreign tongues as English, French, German, Latin, and Greek. Another area in which missionaries displayed superiority was that of Western medical practice. A fourth variety of expertise was in the realm of manual skills and managerial techniques common in Europe but relatively unknown in traditional Samoan society. The manual skills included sewing, furniture construction, masonry, and agricultural methods associated with producing commercial quantities of such crops as sugar cane. The managerial skills included bookkeeping and import-export practices.

Of the special favors that missionaries could offer, the most important was the salvation of the Samoan's soul through the missionaries' authority to administer baptism, communion, and —in the case of Catholics— confession and the last rites. A second favor was advancement in the religious hierarchy that had quickly become a significant part of the islanders' overall social structure. Without missionary approval —particularly in the early decades of Christianity in Samoa— an individual could not be elected to membershiup in the church, he could not be appointed as a deacon, and he could not attend the seminary to become a pastor. A third sort of favor was the gift of material goods valued by Samoans, such as Bibles, hymn books, calico cloth from England, and trinkets common in European culture.

The typical missionary employed his powers through the following pattern of activities. He was located at a central spot in a district that contained five to twenty or more villages with a total population of perhaps 2,000 to 4,000 inhabitants. The central mission station consisted of a church, a house for the missionary and his wife, and other houses in which Samoan servants and boarding students lived. The missionary conducted Sunday services in his own church as well as several services during the week, such as Saturday evening prayer meeting. He also visited the villages in his district during the week, and sometimes on Sunday, to direct services and give religious instruction. As soon as a core of faithful believers was developed within a village, one of the more apt and diligent parishioners was appointed as teacher or pastor, and a church was erected. In the 1830s and 1840s, these teachers had to depend on weekly meetings with the missionary in order to learn what to do for the following week's service, since they had had no schooling for their roles prior to their appointment as teachers. Their training, in effect, was all inservice education.

Not only did the missionary conduct services in his own church and supervise the work of village pastors, but he and his wife also taught boarding students who lived at the mission station. In 1840 the Rev. Archibald W. Murray, assigned to the Tutuila district, described schooling at his mission in the following manner:

> As regards education —the great body of the adult population on the islands are able to read in their own tongue the word of God. Those who are not yet able to read are in general striving to learn, and the young (with the exception of those still heathen) are being universally instructed in reading; and where they are sufficiently advanced, in writing and some other useful branches of education —such as a little arithmetic, geography, English, etc. These latter are confined to the principal school which is under my own superintendence...attended by about 120 children. Mrs. Murray has a class of about 25 more advanced (pupils)...and there are adult schools throughout the district.[45]

The Rev. George Turner described his first year's duties (1843) at the main mission station on the south coast of Upolu in these terms:

> All the ordinary organizations of missionary labour had been commenced,

> such as week-day and Sunday schools, Sabbath services, weekly meetings for prayer and exhortation; a church, too, had been formed, and every village was under the care of a teacher, who was authorized to preach. I took up my abode in the centre of the district.
>
> Daily attendance at the children's school, a class in the afternoon for the young men, who were ashamed to rank among the children; a weekly lecture in some part of the district; a day spent entirely with my teachers and preachers; a prayer meeting on Saturday afternoon; preaching three times, visiting a meeting of the church members of prayer and exhortation once a month; the administration of the Lord's Supper on the first Sabbath of the month; and a monthly missionary prayer meeting —these were among my principal duties during my first year of missionary life in Samoa. Mrs. Turner had a meeting once a week with the women of the district, took a class at the Sunday school, and held also a daily class of girls.[46]

The typical medical services that all missionaries were expected by Samoans to render have also been described by Turner:

> Whether I would or not, I was obliged to turn out Graham's Domestic Medicine and become head doctor of the district. Day after day I had 20, 30, or 50 calls for advice and medicine. I appointed an hour, morning and afternoon, for the purpose, and, by making a small charge of something useful to the servants, such as a hank of cinet, or a few taro roots, for a dose of medicine, I was able to keep the rush and inconvenience within bounds. A little surgical knowledge which I had picked up from a session at the anatomy class in the Andersonian Unviersity of Glasgow, was all of service.... I often wished, also, that I had attended to obstetric practice before leaving home, and would strongly advise all young men preparing for missionary work among a heathen people, to devote a year or two at least almost exclusively to such matters. On one occasion I got some vaccine lymph, and by attending to it for two or three months, succeeded in getting every man, woman, and child in the district vaccinated. My brother missionaries did the same. We have kept on vaccinating as often as we could in subsequent years and to that as a means it is probably to be traced that we have never had small pox in the group. Vessels have called having the disease on board, but we have never had a case among the natives.[47]

The Samoans' nearly unbounded faith in the white missionaries' curative skills was, however, not without dangers. Steinberger, in his report to the U.S. Secretary of State in 1874, wrote that he considered the missionares' dispensing of medicines to the native population to be a "grave error".

> Excepting Dr. Turner, of Apia, none are regularly trained physicians. They adhere to the old school of practice, and ignorantly dispense blue-mass, gray powders, calomel, and other preparations of mercury, while Dover's powders, podophyllum, preparations of arsenic, etc., are freely given. I foresee in this reckless issuance of drugs no little mischief in the future, as mercurial diseases must certainly develop themselves unless it is abandoned; and I have communicated my impression to Dr. Turner.... He at once agreed with me. This mistaken kindness I believe will be given up.[48]

Over subsequent decades, the missionaries continued to minister to Samoans' medical needs, a practice that was of substantial import for maintaining the white religious leaders' power and status in the islands.

The Samoan Village Pastors

Second only to the white missionaries and their wives in the ecclesiastical social structure were the native village pastors. Although they did not bear matai titles and thus were not official members of the traditional legislative and judicial bodies (the fonos), the pastors who had graduated from the theological seminaries were recognized as the best educated men in the village. As such, they were accorded a large measure of respect by chiefs and villagers alike and were frequently consulted on questions beyond their official realm of authority.

In the earliest years of missions in Samoa, the pastors and catechists who were assigned to a village would usually live with the chiefs and would be expected to engage in some useful employment other than teaching and preaching. But by the latter 1850s their position in the social system had become so strong that they were provided with their own residences and were excused from all employment which might hinder them in their ministerial duties.[49]

Over the latter years of the century the power of the village faifeau increased, so that the ministry came to be considered the highest calling in all Samoa and the village pastor the most respected and influential man. His house —provided for him by the parishioners— was usually the largest and finest in the area. When he was invited to attend a village council, he sat at the end post of the house and drank the first kava in recognition of his position of honor. Village visitors were often quartered at the pastor's home rather than in the guest house of the village high chief, which formerly had been the place to entertain those of high rank.[50]

The basic reason for the pastor's rise to the pinnacle of native society was that the Bible, as in medieval Europe, formed the basis for intellectual life. And the church functioned not only as a center for religious services but also as the location of the village's most important social and religious activities.

The duties of a pastor were to preach two sermons on Sunday, to teach the children every day in the day-school, to counsel villagers on matters they brought to him, and to attend to baptisms, weddings, funerals, prayer meetings, occasional evening services during the week, and other church business. The pastor's wife assisted him with these tasks, including giving instruction in the day-school.

From the beginning of mission work in the islands, the missionaries established a practice of placing the responsibility for supporting village teachers in the hands of the villagers themselves. The parishioners were obligated to build the pastor a house and to supply him with food. In the early days, calico cloth and other items were sent from England for distribution among the native pastors. But by the late 1850s the missionairies felt that the responsibility for clothing the pastor and his family should also be born by the people whose spiritual needs he served. Some chiefs suggested assessing a tax for support of the teachers or giving the village women the job of providing for the pastor's family one year, while the men would have that job the next year. But the missionaries vetoed these suggestions and asked that the support of the pastor rest on the voluntary contributions of the villagers themselves. And such has continued to be the practice until the present day. An example of the sort of "salary" a typical preacher received during a perid of one year in the mid-nineteenth century —in addition to his daily food— is the following:

> 23 four-yard lengths of calico, 17 two-yard lengths of calico, 10 pieces of native cloth, 6 pigs, 3 native tiputas (something like a Spanish poncho), 1 coat, 1 shirt, 1 fowl, 1 child's garment, and silver coins of various kinds to the value of 4 pounds, 15 shillings.[51]

After the missionaries had labored 20 years or so in the islands, an increasingly strong movement developed among the native teachers to be given the opportunity to become full fledged representatives of the Lord —that is, to become ordained ministers with the right to conduct all Chrstian ceremonies. The white missionary leaders felt that the local pastors were as yet unready for such status. However, by the latter decades of the century the village pastors were sufficiently powerful within their own localities to be capable of separating themselves from the missionaries and going it alone. Consequently, the missionaries yielded to the pastors' demands and arranged for the Samoans to be given full rights to administer the sacraments. After the annual island-wide assembly of LMS missionaries and pastors in 1876, one missionary wrote: "We bought off their opposition with ordination —not intentionally but really. What other bribe can we offer next meeting?"[52]

In the LMS, the process of achieving ordination assumed the following pattern. A candidate for the ministry first took four years' training at the seminary in Malua. Upon graduation, he sought a call to a church —that is, to a village other than the one in which he had been raised. After a minimum of two years' service as a minister, he was entitled to take a scripture examination to prove to the missionaries that he had not neglected his studies. Upon passing the test, he was ordained as a minister and gained the title of faifeau Samoa, which was the equivalent of the title reverand. There were also in the church system a corps of evangelists and local preachers who had been trained at either the high school in Leulumoega or at the Malua Institute but who had not been called to a church and had not taken the scripture examination. Their role was to preach on certain occasions and to assist the faifeaus.[53]

By the end of the nineteenth century there were about 200 LMS churches in Samoa with about 180 ministers and 250 evangelists and local preachers. Each church was managed by the feaifeau under the guidance of a board of deacons made up of the leading matais. As the years passed, the LMS missionaries passed increasing amounts of control into the hands of Samoans, so that eventually the churches would be almost entirely local operations.

By the 1980s the LMS churches were known as Samoan Congregational churches. Faifeaus still held a powerful, prestigious place in the social structure and continued to carry out essentially the same duties as they had a century earlier. However, the size and importance of the day-school had been much reduced with the rapid expansion of public schools, particularly in American Samoa.

TEACHING MATERIALS

In nineteenth-century Samoa, the principal instructional materials were religious books and pamphlets, supplemented in later years by secular materials considered suitable for Christian minds. The first of the publications was a translation of the New Testament, which was issued initially as a series of gospels and epistles in pamphlet form until the entire work was printed in England in 1846. Next the Psalms were translated, then the rest of the Old Testament until that portion of the Bible could be issued on the local LMS printing press on Upolu in 1855. This issuing of the two testaments in reverse order nicely fitted the missionaries' emphasis on the life of Jesus, but it inadvertently helped muddle biblical chronology in the minds of Samoans.[54]

The publication of the Bible was followed by the printing of translations —or missionaries' original writings— that treated church history, sketches of sermons, commentaries on the gospels, "Scripture Facts in Simple Language", elements of natural philosophy, and Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress. Textbooks in arithmetic, geography, astronomy, and the like for use in faifeau schools, in the high schools, and in the Malua Institute were also published in the Samoan language. Ultimately such secular volumes as Tales from Shakespeare and Alladin's Lamp, which were popular in British Christian homes, were added to the literature available to the Samoan reading public.

Since Samoans were —and continue to be— accomplished and enthusiastic singers, one of the earliest and most popular books issued for their use was the hymnal. Various versions of hymnals were produced over the years. In 1890, the establishment of the first Christian Endeavor society for young people in Samoa (just nine years after the society was founded in Portland, Maine) was soon followed by the publication of a Christian Endeavor volume of 50 Samoan hymns.[55]

Periodicals and occasional papers of various sorts were also issued by the LMS press and, to a lesser extent, by the other Christian denominations. A monthly magazine entitled The Torch carried useful religious notes and news to village teachers and interested lay personnel in the LMS church system. Weekly Sunday-school lesson outlines, following the curriculum devised in England, were furnished to the islanders. Several of the missionaries wrote papers about Samoan social structure and custom "as a contribution to the ethnological science" and published these in an occasional journal, Samoan Reporter, that was privately circulated among their friends.[56] And if conditions seemed to demand it, the missionaries turned out leaflets attacking groups that they regarded as enemies of the LMS cause. For example, even before Catholic priests began to work in Samoa in 1845, the LMS press had issued a series of pamphlets discrediting the Roman Catholicism that had debilitated the LMS church in Tahiti after the French took over the Society Islands.[57]

Even though the missions published an assortment of books and periodicals over the last half of the nineteenth century, none of the works could compare to the Bible in excellence of language and in significance as educational material. The assiduous scholarship that made the Samoan Bible the all-time model of quality for written Samoan has been described by the Rev. George Turner, who was one of the most significant contributors to the work:

> In all our Scripture translations, we acted upon the principle that no one man, however well qualified for the task, is fit to be entrusted with the entire responsibilities of translating the Word of God into a foreign language. It was, therefore, a standing rule with us, that after the translator had done his best, he submit his manuscript to a committee of not less than three of his brother missionaries, appointed for the purpose at a general meeting.... Every word was compared with the original, and the renderings altered or confirmed, as the united voice of the committee might decide.
>
> When we met on these committees, we sat ten hours a day, with our native pundits, for two, three, four, or six weeks, according to the length or difficulty of the book.... At the commencement of a book, we had a number of preparatory things to settle, affecting the style of the author, and certain phrases which he uses; so that our progress for a few days would be slow, not more, sometimes, than five verses. As we advanced, however, we got through from twenty to forty verses a day....
>
> By the close of 1855, we had completed the revision and printing in the islands of the Old Testament.... Our Scripture translation work, however, was not yet done. We divided the whole afresh into eight portions for further correction by individual brethren, preparatory to

> a final revision, and a new edition of the entire Scriptures, in one volume, to be printed in London. The final revision, to secure uniformity and give to the whole the matured benefit of nearly twenty years' experience, we committed to our brethren Pratt and Nisbet. For 331 days they plodded afresh, through every book from Genesis to the Revelation, referring difficulties to Mr. Murray and myself.... As the version is in accordance with our knowledge of the Samoan dialect in 1860, it is, of course, free from all obsolete words and phrases, and will, I have no doubt, be far plainer in this respect to a Samoan, than our English version is at the present day to many of our countrymen.[58]

TEACHING METHODS

The most fundamental subject of study in village primary schools was reading. The method for teaching reading was to have children memorize the sight and sound of the fourteen letters of the Samoan alphabet. Next, they learned to pronounce one-syllable words at sight. Next, two-syllable words were memorized. Then they studied short sentences, all of a religious nature. Eventually, children learned to read the Bible. Since the number of sounds in the Samoan language are fewer than in English, and because the orthography introduced by the missionaries cast reading material into a systematic phonetic form, learning to read Samoan proved to be a much easier task than learning to read English.[59]

Beyond the teaching of reading, the village faifeau spent a large amount of time drilling the children on memorizing passages of scripture, arithmetic combinations, and facts about geography. A good deal of attention was also given to memorizing the words and tunes of the hymnal.

Sitting on the floor of the church with slates in front of them, the children practiced handwriting exercises.

All of this study each morning was intended to prepare pupils for the examinations conducted annually by the district's white missionary when he visited the village in the role of school inspector. For the children who did well in the oral examinations, prizes were awarded, a practice still followed today, although in a curtailed form and with the examinations conducted by Samoan clergymen.

The Catholic convent schools for girls not only offered the usual secular and religious studies, but they also gave instruction in household duties, chiefly by means of demonstrations.[60]

At the high school and seminary levels, memorizing hymns and scriptures was again emphasized. But beyond rote memorization, students were expected to learn scriptural analysis and argumentation that drew on Biblical passages for proof. In short, students were urged by means of lecture and demonstration to go beyond the catechism and debate on their own initiative. The sort of forensic skill that the missionaries urged their students to develop is suggested by Rev. George Turner's comment that:

> I heard one day of a youth ... who, in a discussion with a Roman Catholic priest, was considered by the natives present to have the better side of the controversy. He simply took his stand on the New Testament, and defied his opponent to prove from that volume that there is any authority for praying to the Virgin Mary.[61]

The typical classroom teaching techniques at the high school and seminary were lecturing, dictating long passages of material for students to copy onto note paper, having students recite what they had memorized, and answering student questions about scripture intepretation. The copying of lecture material was necessary in the early years of the seminaries before a complete array of textbooks had been produced. At the Malua Institute, Turner made a practice of writing an extra copy of his notes, which he lent to the students to copy into their own notebooks after class. He was a prodigious worker, laboring five hours a day in his study to prepare 11,520 pages of notes for the courses he taught. Of these, he gave out 6,955 pages to the students to copy. A typical student, by the end of four years at the institute in the middle of the century, took away about 2,000 pages of lectures and notes.[62] As the decades passed, however, much of this material was put into printed form so that less student time was required for copying lectures and more was available for reading the growing store of pamphlets and books in the Samoan language.

So much for the intellectual portion of advanced schooling. Consider now the methods used in teaching non-academic subjects. The industrial and agricultural studies for boys and the homemaking classes for girls depended primarily on lecture-demonstration as the instructional method. Missionaries and Samoan artisans directed the boys in furniture and house construction. Missionaries and Samoan plantation workers supervised the care of the gardens and plantations which each student was obliged to cultivate on the high-school or seminary campus. The missionary ladies taught needle work and household management by demonstration and by superivising the high-school girls' housekeeping tasks within the boarding school.

This same range of teaching techniques —lectures, reading in texts, question-answer recitations over scriptural materials, copying lecture notes, and demonstrating manual skills— that were introduced in the mission schools of the nineteenth century would continue well into the twentieth century as the principal modes of instruction in Samoan schools.

SUMMARY

Reviewing the 70-year history of missionary work in Samoa prior to 1900, we note the remarkable success of the Christian educational effort. By the end of the nineteenth century, 99 percent of Samoans over age 10 could read and write to some extent in their own language.[63] Every village had at least one faifeau school. And if more than one demonination had a church in a village, there would be more than one primary school for parents to choose from.

For the most capable boys and girls from the village primary schools there were intermediate-level district boarding schools supervised by the white missionaries themselves. Beyond the intermediate schools were high schools for boys and girls and a seminary for each major denomination. Only a select few graduated from these advanced institutions. In short, primary education was virtually universal by the close of the century, but secondary schooling —the rough equivalent of today's junior-high school— was available to only a chosen few.

Over the decades between 1830 and 1900, all schooling was religious. Although such secular subjects as arithmetic, geography, and agriculture were included in the curriculum, the great emphasis was on the Bible, and the fundamental tone of the schools was Christian. In the first several decades of the twentieth century this same tone would continue to dominate the educational communities of both Eastern and Western Samoa. Only later in the twentieth century would secular schooling make significant inroads into the pattern of education established by the white missionaries who followed the Rev. John Williams' *Messenger of Peace* to the islands after 1830.

Chapter 4

Officers of the Navy -- 1900-1961

In the early months of the year 1900, the Samoan islands were divided into the two governmental clusters that exist today --Western Samoa, consisting of the four islands west of 171-degrees parallel, and Eastern Samoa, consisting of six islands east of 171 longitude, plus Swains Island to the north.

The German flag was raised over Western Samoa on March 1. The next day the German governor, Heinrich Solf, was honored by 700 marchers from the missionary societies. Many of the marchers were school children bearing flags with such symbols as three white doves on a purple field (the LMS symbol) or such inscriptions as "The School at Malua. Founded September 1844. Jesus and His Church" or "The School at Papauta. Soldiers of Jesus."[1]

The American flag was raised over Eastern Samoa on April 17 at Pago Pago Bay in a ceremony attended by nearly everyone on the island of Tutuila. American Naval Commander B.F. Tilley, serving as the first governor of the new island possession, officiated while the Samoan chiefs announced:

> ...let all the nations of the earth know and all people dwelling therein, that...we do allow, cede, and transfer to the Government of the United States the island of Tutuila and all things there to rule and protect it. We will obey all laws and statutes made by the government.[2]

After Tilley declared the islands to be under the sovereignty of the United States, he hoisted the American flag, and the pupils from the LMS school of Fagalele Village sang "America" in English.

As a result of this partition of old Samoa into two separate colonies, the political and economic futures of the Eastern and Western sectors assumed distinctly different patterns throughout the twentieth century. But the future of education in the islands was a somewhat different matter. Many of the traditional educational functions of the Samoan family and village as passed down from ancient days continued relatively unchanged in both the Eastern and Western divisions. In like manner, the missionary school structure of the 1800s remained intact to serve as the principal system of formal schooling over more than half of the twentieth century.

Although the islands were split into two civil governments, each Christian denomination maintained its unified organization. By the 1980s, LMS faifeaus for both Eastern and Western Samoa were still trained at the Malua Institute. The curricula and teaching materials for faifeau village schools on both sides of the 171st parallel were still produced at the

Congregational church headquarters on Upolu. The operations of the Catholic church and of Catholic schools for all the islands were still directed from the original headquarters near Apia on Upolu. Methodist catechists for Eastern and Western Samoa were trained at the Wesleyan seminary in Western Samoa. In sum, the basic unity of the traditional Samoan and missionary institutions was not seriously altered by the partitioning of the islands in 1900. However, the secular educational institutions that would gradually evolve separately in the Eastern and Western divisions of Samoa would eventually take on quite different forms and personalities over the twentieth century. And it is with these secular schools that we are chiefly concerned in the present chapter and in the one that follows.

Up to now I have treated Samoan culture and education as an entity, making no distinction between what happened in the East and in the West. But at this point we shift our focus to the Eastern sector —to American Samoa— and maintain this emphasis throughout the rest of the book. Occasionally in the following chapters, I refer to political, economic, or educational events in Western Samoa. But attention will only turn to the West when a comparison of what occurs in that territory serves to highlight or clarify what is happening in the eastern islands. In effect, from this point on I make no attempt to furnish a detailed sketch of political and educational developments in any but the seven islands that compose the American possession.

THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SETTING

Since educational developments in American Samoa in the twentieth century have been significantly influenced by social and political events, it is useful at the outset of this chapter to describe a series of happenings in the social and political realms that affected the growth of schools —particularly the growth of secular schools.

Commander Tilley launched the American governance of Eastern Samoa as a benevolent autocracy and immediately won the gratitude and respect of the native people. Since Tilley feared a resumption of the nineteenth-century land grabs by foreign real estate speculators, he decreed that henceforth non-Samoans would be forbidden to acquire land in the islands. This decree has remained in effect into the 1980s. And when he considered how he might best organize the civil administration, he decided to disturb the traditional Samoan administrative units and the chieftain hierarchy as little as possible. Consequently, he retained the existing division of Tutuila into Eastern and Western districts and honored the traditional unification of the three populated islands to the east as the Manua district (Tau, Ofu, and Olosega islands). (The remaining eastern island, Rose Island, was unpopulated.) The most capable high chief in each of these sectors was appointed as district governor, a policy that was continued over the ensuing decades. The incumbent chiefs of the counties within districts were appointed by Tilley to continue in their offices. As a further act of protection, Tilley ordered that Samoans were not to be sold alcoholic beverages.

Over the next 15 years, successive naval governors focused on solving problems that resulted from the islands' lack of public services in health, transportation, and education. In the area of health, Tilley's naval surgeon devoted most of his time and supplies to treating sick and injured Samoans. In 1906 money was supplied by the Navy to build a dispensary where naval personnel treated Samoans' illnesses. This precedent of furnishing free medical services to Samoans continued into the 1980s.[3]

In the area of transportation, naval governors found themselves aiding Samoan ship owners in managing their interisland shipping affairs in a manner that the Navy hoped would yield the owners a steady profit --a hope that was never realized.

In education, the naval administration sought to bolster the existing missionary schools with secular public institutions. In 1921 a public-school system was organized in cooperation with missionary groups, and the Navy chaplain was appointed superintendent of schools. But local governors' and chaplains' plans to bring compulsory, English-language schooling to all island children would founder over the coming years for lack of financial support from Washington. So public schools over the 1920-1950 period grew only slowly, while the traditional Samoan-language pastors' schools continued to be the main source of formal education for the great majority of Eastern Samoa's young people. Not until the latter 1950s would nearly universal elementary schooling that followed a U.S. mainland curriculum become a reality.

In the middle of the second decade of Navy administration, the most important political event was the outbreak of World War I and the subsequent transfer of control over Western Samoa from Germany to New Zealand in December 1920. Then Western Samoa continued as a League of Nations mandated protectorate through four decades until on New Year's Day of 1962 the Western Samoans' long-growing dissatisfaction with foreign rule won them their freedom as an independent nation.

Like Western Samoa, Eastern Samoa also experienced periodic expressions of discontent with its status as a possession of a large and distant nation. In 1920 disenchantment with the naval administration was voiced in a series of grievances that forced the U.S. Secretary of the Navy to dispatch a board of inquiry to the South Seas. Prior to 1920 complaints about the naval government had been sporadic and unorganized. But by 1920 the opposition to the administration had assumed the form of a movement stimulated by native chiefs and disgruntled white Americans, including two Navy officers. The movement bore several labels, such as "The Committee of Samoan Chiefs" and "The Samoan Cause" and "The Samoan Movement." Within a few years it would acquire its permanent title, the Mau, which is a Samoan word for opposition. Although the grievances were of several sorts, some valid and others perhaps not, at the heart of the movement was the belief by Samoans that their rights, powers, and welfare had not been respected by naval governors. The peak of the Navy's problems was reached at noon, November 3, 1920, when W.J. Terhune, the current naval governor, climbed to the second-story front room of the governor's mansion overlooking Pago Pago Bay and shot himself. To end this era of troubles, the Navy appointed Captain Waldo Evans as the next governor, and he firmly put affairs in order. The 1920 incident of the Mau was over.[4] And as one significant act of his administration, Evans started the public school system.

However, in the mid-1920s the issue of the Mau arose again. There were periodic complaints from minor Samoan chiefs that the governor and the high chiefs who served as district representatives of the naval administration acted in autocratic and arbitrary ways that disregarded the welfare of the majority of the islanders. The Mau cause was soon taken up by several Californians who publicized in Washington a variety of real and imagined grievances against the Navy. As a result, in 1930 President Hoover sent an investitgating commission to Eastern Samoa. The commission, headed by Senator Hiram Bingham, conducted hearings throughout the islands and learned that 40 of the 49 chiefs who gave testimony wanted to continue the naval administration. The remaining nine wanted a civil government.

A spokesman for the Mau said that his organization wanted Samoans to have U.S. citizenship rather than their present status as U.S. nationals. The commission subsequently reported to Washington that "the Mau was not greatly concerned whether there was an Army, Navy, or civilian government, but the members wanted representation in the government and the right to appeal to United States courts."[5]

Back in Washington, Senator Bingham drafted a bill that would grant Samoans many of their requests. But in both 1931 and 1932 the House of Representatives defeated Bingham's bill, apparently because members of Congress did not feel that the distant islanders deserved citizenship. Samoa's legal status remained unchanged.

Over the next decade the Mau actually did die out, and officials in Washington turned their attention to the problems of the economic depression —the NRA, the CCC, and the AAA. Congress showed no further interest in the affairs of American Samoa. Pago Pago was again a small, quiet, out-of-the-way naval post. The lives of most Samoans were little influenced by Western culture.

However, the early 1940s and World War II changed all this as Eastern Samoa became a frontier military base in the Pacific war against Japan. The sailors and marines who landed in the islands soon outnumbered the Samoans. Schools were closed and their buildings put to military use. Economic life was drastically changed. Whereas before the war Samoa had exported copra, the copra trade stopped in 1942 because shipping was no longer available. But the influx of dollars from servicemen's pockets and from the government construction projects more than made up for the loss of exports. Merchants, workmen, and the government of Samoa all prospered, leaving the islands relatively rich by the end of the war.[6]

The close of the war once more brought to the forefront the issue of the governance of Samoa and the status of its people. The United Nations newly assigned the United States as trustee of the large number of Micronesian islands in the north-western Pacific which had been under Japanese control since World War I. The question how faced in Washington was that of which U.S. agency was best equipped to administer the trust territory. After lengthy acrimonious interdepartmental debate in Washington, the Department of the Interior —which for many years had managed American Indian affairs— was awarded jurisdiction over the Micronesian trust. Samoa and Guam, both traditionally under the Navy, were included in the package.

Thus, in June 1947 the secretaries of the Navy, War, State, and Interior Departments jointly recommended to President Truman that American Samoa, Guam, and the trust territory be placed under the Department of the Interior as soon as feasible. The transfer of Eastern Samoa from the naval governor to Interior Department officials was effected four years later —July 1, 1951. The Samoan legislature memorialized the decision by stating in the printed program that:

> Turning its head to the past, Samoa is sorrowful to bid farewell to a good and loyal friend, the Navy. At the same time, turning its head toward the future, Samoa bids welcome to the new administration...and offers its loyalty, cooperation, and obedience with bright hopes for the future.[7]

Over the decade of the 1950s, the office of governor was filled by a succession of political appointees who endeavored to solve such problems as over-population, a faltering economy, suitable representation of Samoans in creating government policy, and a more appropriate relationship of American Samoa to the U.S. government. The combined problems of over-population and unemployment were partially resolved by the regular voluntary exodus of many islanders in order to settle in Hawaii and California. The economy itself was aided in the mid-1950s by the establishment of tuna canneries on Pago Pago Bay, staffed by Samoans who processed tuna caught in Central-Pacific waters by fishing fleets from Japan and, later, from Taiwan and Korea. A growing number of transports and cruise ships began to stop in Pago Pago harbor, providing welcome dollars for local merchants. However, the problem of making the islands economically self-sufficient and free from subsidies by the U.S. government seemed insurmountable.

The relationship of Samoa to the U.S. government continued to distress congressmen and officials in the Department of the Interior. An organic act was proposed in Washington to place Samoans fully under the U.S. constitution. And though such status appeared at first glance to be desirable, closer inspection showed the islanders that the act would open the way to the destruction of their matai socio-political structure and of their protection from non-Samoans gaining control over Samoan land. Thus, Samoan leaders, supported by sympathetic governors, caused the defeat of the proposed act.

During this decade of the fifties, Samoans took a further stgep toward gaining more policy-making power by having their Fono elevated to a stronger advisory position in relation to the governor. However, the power of the governor continued to be great, just as it had been in Navy days.

Such was the condition of Eastern Samoa's government at the beginning of the 1960s. Against this background of Navy and Interior-Department rule from 1900 through 1961, the islands' public-school system gradually evolved and the private school system expanded. In the following pages we consider in some detail these 61 years of educational development. The discussion begins with (1) an overview of the major lines of growth from 1900 through 1961. It then continues with five aspects of the educational enterprise during this era: (2) the changes in school objectives and instructional content, (3) the hierarchy of school personnel, (4) the nature of the student population, (5) teaching methodology, and (6) school facilities and teaching materials.

A CHRONICLE OF GROWTH — 1900-1961

The purpose of this section is to trace the development of the school system in terms of the numbers of pupils and schools, types of schools, administrative organization, and methods of finance. In addition, I shall identify at each stage of growth the interaction between secular and religious institutions, because the relationship of the church to secular schools in Eastern Samoa assumed a pattern that would have been considered unacceptable on the U.S. mainland during these years.

The discussion first centers on the schooling legacy inherited by the islanders in 1900 from missionary days. It then turns to key educational institutions founded over the first two decades of Navy rule —institutions that set precedents which would have important implications for the shape of the school system during the first half of the century. Then we trace the development of the public school system from 1921 until 1961. In additon to this overview of growth of elementary schooling, we consider the role of the Barstow foundation in Samoan education and the development of upper-secondary education after World War II.

The Legacy from the Nineteenth Century

When the Navy took over the territory in 1900, there were fewer than 50 schools, nearly all limited to the lower primary grades. About 40 were London Mission Society village schools. All but two of the remaining 10 were primary schools conducted by Catholic catechists. The other two were an intermediate LMS boys' school at Faglele and a Catholic girls' school at Leone. Both of these would become historically significant, for they continued to function as key institutions for their respective denominations over the next 60 years.

The LMS Fagalele school, established in the 1890s, was a boarding institution admitting boys who had completed their village schooling with a good record. Its principal role was to prepare Eastern Samoan youths to enter the LMS seminary at Malua in Western Samoa. However, a class was also provided for boys who did not intend to become faifeaus but simply wanted two or three years' education beyond their village schooling. The curriculum included religious and secular subjects. In the realm of religion, boys learned church and scripture history, the lives of the disciples, and international Bible lessons. Secular subjects were English, geography, arithmetic, Samoan grammar, and composition.[8] Fagalele school continued as an important unit of the LMS educational system until 1962, when it was discontinued in the opening years of the TV-assisted public-school program, and its buildings were leased to the government as junior-high facilities.

The Catholic convent school at Leone had been started in 1897 by two Marist Sisters representing the Third Order Regular of Mary, a teaching order with headquarters in France and a history of educational contributions throughout the Pacific. The Leone girls' school typically enrolled 45 pupils a year until 1921 when it was integreated into the newly established public school system, but it maintined its basic structure with the Sisters still in charge.

So it was that the naval administration inherited from the 1800s about 50 schools that would become the foundation for the broader array of institutions that evolved during the early years of the 1900s.

Precedents Set by New Schools — 1900-1920

Three main forces appear to have stimulated the establishment of the several types of schools that grew up in Eastern Samoa over the first two decades of the twentieth century.

First was the desire of influential Samoans in the eastern islands to have their boys and girls taught in American Samoa rather than on the most advanced of the western islands, Upolo. Prior to 1900 the children of chiefs and pastors in Tutuila and Manua had been sent for intermediate schooling to the region around the city of Apia on Upolu. But after the Germans fobade the teaching of English in their new colony, parents of youths in Eastern Samoa sought to have schools of their own where American English would be taught.

A second factor that motivated the growth of schools was the continuing competition among the several Christian denominations that were operating in the islands at the turn of the century. A mission group that establised schools was better prepared to educate adherents in the true doctrine than a group which did not. Over the coming decades schools would be set up by the LMS, Catholics, Wesleyans, Mormons, Assemblies of God, and Seventh Day Adventists.

A third factor was a sense of responsibility that U.S. naval administrators felt for the education of youths under their jurisdiction, particulary a responsibility to Americanize these newly acquired U.S. nationals.

In the following paragraphs I describe five of the schools set up in the early 1900s and indicate the roles they were to play in the development of the islands' educational system throughout the next half century. The five are considered in the chronological order in which they were founded.

LMS Schools for Girls and for Boys. In British tradition and in keeping with Samoan custom, girls and boys should attend separate schools. So with the Fagalele boys' school already in operation, LMS authorities moved in 1899 to collect $10,000 from Samoan church members to establish Ataulama Boarding School for Girls behind Afao village near Leone. The original purpose was to train young women to become wives of faifeaus who would head village churches in Samoa or would travel as missionaries to New Guinea and the Ellice Islands. When the school opened under the tutelage of Miss French and Miss Moore, it enrolled 45 boarding students "of excellent character", most of them pastors' and chiefs' daughters who had already completed five or six years of village schooling. In subsequent years, as the Samoan Hospital on Tutuila sought well prepared candidates for nurse's training, a portion of the annual graduating class of Ataulama enrolled in the hospital's nursing course.[9] Thus, it was Ataulama that became the original source of candidates for the nursing program that was still being conducted at the government hospital in the 1980s. Like the Fagalele boys' school, Ataulama continued as a private institution over the decades, with girls in grades one through nine, until it was discontinued in 1963 with the advent of the consolidated school system and educational television.

At the same time that Ataulama was being set up on Tutuila, a young Samoan LMS graduate of the Malua Institute in Western Samoa returned to the easterly Manua group of islands in American Samoa to start a boys' school. He obtained a plot of land and, aided by his pupils and LMS followers in Manua, he built six Samoan houses to serve as school buildings. By the close of the year he had an enrollment of nearly 100. Thus, on his own initiative, a young Samoan faifeau added another school to the growing LMS system.

The Mormon School at Mapusaga. Missionaries from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints began preaching on Tutuila in 1888, but not until 1900 did they ask the villagers of Faleniu to give them a piece of land on which a school could be erected. The campus was named Mapusaga (resting place), and over the years a Mormon elder and his assistants conducted an English-languge curriculum for 60 or 70 boys and girls between ages 6 and 20. The pupils came from all parts of the islands and made their homes with families in the village near the school. This institution continued as a six-grade elementary school until World War II, then closed along with many other islands schools.

This first Mormon school established a Mormon tradition of English-language education that would be revived in 1960 when the Latter Day Saints constructed a modern high-school campus where students in grades 7 through 12 were offered the same array of subjects found in U.S. mainland high schools. A plan to extend the institution to include elementary grades and a junior college never materialized. The high school was discontinued in 1974 because Mormon officials said the school was no longer needed, in light of the recent growth of public secondary schools. The campus was then transfered to the government of American Samoa to function as quarters for the public two-year Community College of American Samoa.

Much of the Mormon educational effort in the islands, as elsewhere, was not carried out in a school setting but consisted of young white missionary volunteers walking from village to village to teach English and church doctrine. NIne such missionaries were in Eastern Samoa in 1900, and over the next 80 years a stream of Mormon youths continued to appear in the islands to carry out their educational commitment.

The First Public School. An actual system of public schools would not be established until 1921, but the first individual public school as set up in 1904. It was a somewhat make-shift institution because officials in Washington were not interested in supporting public education in the South Seas.

From the beginning of U.S. control of Eastern Samoa, naval commandants expressed concern about the educational welfare of children —white, half-white (hafa-kasi, meaning "half-cast"), and Samoan alike. Commander Tilley in 1900 agreed with the missionaries' opinion that Samoan youths could properly learn "a few simple truths" rather than attempt advanced education. He also thought they should learn English because it was "a world language".[10] To implement his convictions that Samoans needed practical training, he recommended that the government set up manual-training schools for boys and home-economics classes for girls, with the curricula to include a large measure of English language. Tilley appealed to naval headquarters in Washington for $347.50 to buy McGuffey's Readers and other school supplies. He also requested $5,000 for annual operating expenses. But his appeal was rejected, setting a pattern of similar rejections over the early decades of naval administration. The attitude of both the Navy Department and Congress was expressed by the Secretary of the Navy in 1922 on the occasion of another request for school funds: "Government aid should be discouraged as far as possible and the people encouraged to do more for themselves."[11]

The rebuffs from Washington forced commandants and Samoan chiefs to devise their own sources of educational finance. The first effective step in this direction was taken by the fourth naval administrator, E.B. Underwood, who announced late in 1903 that the former courthouse at the naval station in Fagatogo would be turned into a primary school for boys and girls on April 11, 1904. The $1,000 needed to buy equipment and to pay the two teachers for nine months would be taken from the government's copra (customs) fund.

The main objective of the school was to teach Samoan children and the community's white and part-white children to read, write, and speak English and to understand arithmetic and geography. Mrs. Trevorrow, wife of a Navy machinist, was the principal and head teacher, assisted by another Navy wife as the second teacher. However, Samoan parents did not like boys and girls attending class together, and they liked even less the idea of having boys taught by women. So when the two naval wives finished their first two years of teaching, they were replaced by a normal-school graduate from the U.S. mainland, Charles Moore, who taught both academic and manual-training subjects until his resignation in 1913. Within a few years after its opening, the school was attended only by boys and taught only by a male instructor.

In 1903 when this first public institution was being planned, Commander Underwood had announced that the student body would be composed of pupils selected by the commandant and the high chiefs of the three political districts. There would be scholarships for 20 from the large western Tutuila district and 16 each from the eastern district and from Manua. Another 16 white or part-white pupils would be chosen by Underwood himself. When the school actually opened, the boys, ages 6 through 12, totaled only 40. And as the years passed, the 40 or 50 boys who attended did not represent the districts in balanced proportion, but they came mostly from families in the Pago Pago Bay region. The government school continued at its original site until 1914, when it was closed and the staff and older students transferred to a newly established intermediate-secondary school across the bay —an institution that soon would be named Poyer School in honor of the naval governor in office at the time that its concrete building was erected in 1917.

Viewed from the perspective of the 1980s, the first secular, English-language school for Eastern Samoa was of unique historical significance. From its beginning it was an elitist institution, catering to white Americans and to influential, Western-oriented Samoan and half-caste families. It was not only the forebear of Poyer School, which became the most prestigious publicly supported school of Navy times, but it was also the ancient ancestor —in spirit if not in direct lineage— of the Dependents' School established after World War II.

The Dependents' School in the 1950s and 1960s would be intended primarily for the children of employees from the U.S. mainland who worked in Samoa on government contracts. But the school was attended as well by Samoan and part-Samoan children who were relatively fluent in English, often because they already had attended school on the U.S. mainland. In the 1960s and 1970s the Dependents' School bore the name Fia Iloa (Love of Learning) and had the reputation of being an elitist institution supported by public funds. It was finally disbanded in 1974 in the face of charges that it violated federal civil-rights laws, and its white and Samoan pupils were distributed among other public and private schools on Tutuila.

Thus, the first public school set up under Navy auspices in 1904 was the progenitor of both the general public school system and the elitist Fia Iloa school of the 1970s.

The Marist Brothers School in Leone —An Integration of Church and State. In terms of the U.S. government's principle of separating church and state, a curious precedent was set in Samoa at the beginning of the twentieth century. The chiefs of the western district of Tutuila —Catholics and Protestants alike— had repeatedly asked the head of the Roman Catholic Mission in Samoa, Bishop Broyer, to establish an English-language school in Leone. The school would be under the direction of the Little Brothers of Mary, better known as the Marist Brothers, who operated out of headquarters in Italy. With such a school on Tutuila, Eastern Samoan children might obtain a sound education in English, as they had been able to do in Western Samoan before the Germans took over in 1900 and banned the teaching of English.

According to the chiefs' request, the school would be nondenominational, offering no religious instruction during school hours. The chiefs would give the land, and the expense of constructing classrooms and living quasrters for the Brothers would be met through contributions from residents of the district. Samoans from Leone would build the structures in nearby Leala.

For several years the plan had suffered a series of delays, but in April 1906 the buildings were completed, and 125 boys of elementary-school age were soon learning English and mathematics under the guidance of three white Marist Brothers.[12]

To raise the $1,000 needed annually to pay salaries and other expenses, the chiefs of the western district levied the territory's first school tax of $3 for every taxpayer in the district. To supplement the tax fund, each pupil was charged a $2 monthly fee.

Leone Boys' School operated under the contract to the western chiefs until 1921, when it was integrated into the newly established public school system, a status it maintained until the government terminated its contract in 1945 and the school closed. But the western chiefs liked the school; so after World War II, they pressed the government and the Marist Brothers to settle the differences between them that had caused its closing and to reopen it. The chiefs' appeal succeeded, and in 1950 the Marists signed a new contract with the government. The former Feleti School building in Leone was renovated, and Brothers Herman and Basil took over as teachers. For more than a decade the school annually enrolled about 100 boys, grades 6 through 9, until the establishment of the consolidated school system caused Leone Boys' School to close permanently at the end of 1963.

So it was that Leone Boys' School in 1906 inaugurated a long-term policy of church-state cooperation that was most unusual under the U.S.

government in the twentieth century. The school was located on Samoan chiefs' land that had been donated to the Roman Catholic Church. Funds to support its operation were derived from a district school tax, from contributions of parishioners, and from a monthly school fee paid by pupils. Between 1921 and 1963 the school was incorporated into the island-wide public school system, but the Catholic Marist Brothers continued to be in charge. Both the curriculum and the student body were nondenominational. For example, during the 1950s Catholic pupils made up slightly over 25 percent of the enrollment and Protestants nearly 75 percent, which approximated the proportions of the two denominations living in the western district.[14]

Efforts to Extend Schooling. The five schools described in the foregoing paragraphs were key institutions, for each of them set precedents that would influence the structure of education in Eastern Samoa over the next half century. Gradually, over the period between 1900 and 1920, other private schools were opened, and efforts were made to expand public schools.

In the realm of church schools, a Sister Mary Francis opened two girls' schools in 1909, one at Atuu on Pago Pago Bay, with an enrollment of about 50 pupils, and the other at Lepua, with 15 to 20 students. The Marist Brothers opened a boys' school in 1915 at Atuu, an institution that would be the source of a large percentage of the islands' leaders in business and government over the next 50 years.

Throughout the first two decades of the century periodic efforts were exerted by naval governors to increase educational opportunities for Samoans, but such plans were frustrated by lack of interest in Washington and by inter-denominational rivalries in the islands' church circles. The most vigorous move during these years was made in 1911 by Governor W.M. Crose, who issued a compulsory-education regulation, planned a system of public education, and sought to establish a local educational association that might increase cooperation among all educators in the islands. His efforts to found the association were the most successful. He sponsored two conferences of all outlander teachers from Tutuila and Manua. The conference delegates supported the resolution for compulsory schooling and they agreed upon a general curriculum and a number of basic textbooks to use in common. So, for the first time there was a group of educators willing to meet and agree on several schooling policies. But implementing the plan for greater cooperation depended on funds, and again Washington refused to help, so Crose's attempt to form a school system could not be carried out.

Despite the problems of finance, schools increased in numbers and in enrollment. Table 4-1 shows the growth trends for village pastors' and catechists' schools as well as for the English-language schools conducted either by the government or by a religious denomination.

Table 4-1

SCHOOL ENROLLMENT —1902, 1912, 1921 [15]

1902 All Schools

No. of Schools	Boys	Girls	Total Pupils
57	798	643	1,441

	1912				1921			
Schools Controlled by	Schools	Boys	Girls	Total	Schools	Boys	Girls	Total
Island Government	1	53		53	4	264	183	447
District	1	135		135	1	140		140
London Missionary Society	46	699	642	1341	50	900	848	1748
Roman Catholic Church	17	83	89	172	16	214	175	389
Mormon Mission	5	85	72	157	2	49	43	92
Wesleyan Mission	11	44	34	78	4	36	58	94
	81	1099	837	1936	77	1603	1307	2910

As the table indicates, attendance doubled over the 20-year period, and the number of schools increased 35 percent. The LMS village pastors' schools accounted for 65 percent of the total in 1921 and for 60 percent of the pupils. The five government and district English-language schools enrolled 20 percent of the pupils in Eastern Samoa.

A Public System of Schools

It was Captain Waldo Evans who, as governor, in 1921 finally organized a system of public schools. The system was modeled as closely after U.S. school districts as island conditions would permit. To oversee the system, he appointed a board of education, with the resident Navy chaplain serving both as a member of the board and as superintendent of education for the territory. The secretary of native affairs and the senior medical officer were also on the board, along with two members of prominent part-Samoan families, George Reid and Mrs. B.F. Kneubuhl. Tutuila was divided into 15 school districts and Manua into 4, with the goal of placing an elementary school in each district and eventually upgrading Poyer School to high-school status.[16]

In late 1921 and early 1922 villagers in the 19 school districts constructed buildings, most of them Samoan fales. Until the school houses were finished, classes were conducted in churches. At Governor Evans' request, the annual assembly of chiefs in late 1921 voted a yearly school tax of two dollars to be paid by each taxpayer in Eastern Samoa.

By mid-1922 there were 19 schools, 29 teachers (5 white and 24 Samoan), and 1,567 pupils in the public schools. The headquarters for the system was Poyer School, whose white principal/teacher served also as the system's supervisor with responsibility for visiting the rest of the institutions along with the chaplain and for recommending steps for the schools' improvement.

In the beginning, 17 of the public schools were to conduct classes from grades 1 through 4. Poyer School had grades 1 through 8. Leone Boys' School started with only the primary grades but gradually added higher classes until by 1928 it also offered studies through grade 8.

In the early 1920s it became apparent that expecting Samoan pupils within a period of four years' study to master an English-language curriculum up through U.S. fourth-grade textbooks was unrealistic. Thus, in 1924 the plan was revised. At least two preparatory years, called chart and primer, were added prior to grade 1 so that children could be inducted more gradually into the English language before they would meet typical stateside academic work. The superintendent of education assigned only seven of the public schools to teach through the equivalent of the U.S. mainland's grade 4 (which meant that children would now finish grade 4 in six years). Threee schools —Poyer, Leone, and Tau— would teach through grade 8, and the remaining village schools would offer work through either the primer, the first grade, or the third grade. The program continued in this general pattern into the 1930s.

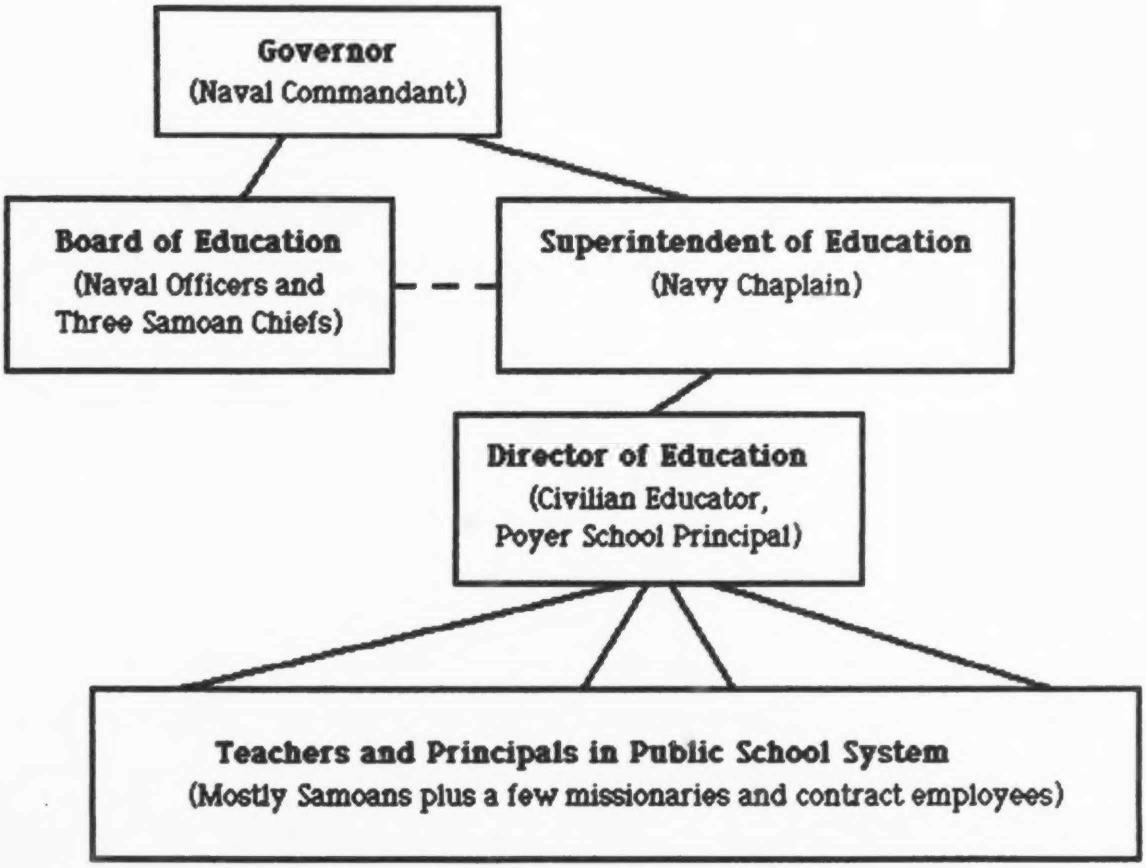
The administrative structure shown in Figure 4-1 was basically the same throughout the Navy's 50-year rule, although from time to time minor aspects of the structure were altered to meet the needs of the times. For example, the original five-member school board of 1921 was extended to eight members in 1924 when the chief's assembly recommended that each of the three political districts be represented. The board, however, never wielded any actual power. Even after the Interior Department took over the governance of the islands in the 1950s, the school board's function was only advisory. The ultimate power was the governor; so if the board's advice conflicted with the governor's opinion, the advice was ignored. In 1953 the territorial governor even disbanded the board, and it was not reconstituted for several years. As late as 1961, board members reported to a congressional study commission "that their meetings are productive of little that is of importance.... The noted lack of identification of the populace with their schools can be attributed partially to their inability to involve themselves in the policy decisions which shape their course."[17]

As mentioned earlier, a constant obstacle to the development of more adequate schools over the first half of the century was a shortage of funds. The ingenuity of Samoans and naval administrators alike was challenged to find ways to finance education. Frequently the money was scraped together from a variety of sources. For instance, when Poyer school was built in 1917, the cost was paid partly from the eastern district school tax, partly from the islands' judicial fund, partly from the Samoan Hospital drug-store fund, and the remainder from customs income. The typical school of the 1910s and 1920s charged a school fee ranging from $1.50 to $4 per month. Private schools often allowed a pupil to defray some of his expenses by working in the school's banana or taro plantation.[18] The original $2 annual school tax paid by each family head in the early 1920s was later raised to $3, but at no time did the tax-income pay more than half of the expenses for teachers' salaries and school supplies. Since villagers were obliged to supply the elementary-school buildings as well as food and housing for teachers, it was not necessary to raise money for these items. Nor was it necessary to spend school funds for textbooks, because students were required to purchase their own books until the mid-1950s.

Figure 4-1

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION --

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION UNDER THE NAVY -- 1921-1950


Governor
(Naval Commandant)
Board of Education
(Naval Officers and Three Samoan Chiefs)
Superintendent of Education
(Navy Chaplain)
Director of Education
(Civilian Educator, Poyer School Principal)
Teachers and Principals in Public School System
(Mostly Samoans plus a few missionaries and contract employees)

In the latter years of the 1900-1961 period, the director of education added supervisors and administrative aids to his staff, and he gave up his own teaching responsibilities. With the departure of the navy in 1951, the position of superintendent of education was eliminated and the highest official in the department thereafter was the director of education.

Although the amount of money generated locally and supplied by Washington increased over the years, it was not until after the Department of the Interior took over the islands in the 1950s that substantial amounts of public funds were sent from Washington (Table 4-2).

But even with the increased expenditures of the 1950s, the public schools of American Samoa were still very under-financed when compared with the schools of other U.S. possessions. As Table 4-3 shows, the per-pupil expenditure in Samoa by 1957 was $40, or only 14 percent of the expenditure in the Canal Zone and about 20 percent of the outlay in Guam and the Virgin Islands. Annual teacher salaries in Samoa averaged just over $900, which was about 24 percent of the salaries on Guam and 40 percent of the amount received by teachers in Puerto Rico.

The Barstow Foundation

A welcome, unexpected infusion of private money and new curriculum ideas resulted in 1932 because of the death of a young man from the mainland who had become enamored with the islands and the people. He was Frederic Duclos Barstow who, upon returning home around 1930 after visiting Samoa, fell ill and died. As a memorial, his parents established the Barstow Foundation, capitalized at around $200,000, to educate "young Samoan men in the American and Samoan way of life, so as to prepare them for leadership of their people."[21] Half of the income from the trust was designated for educating Samoan youths abroad and half for promoting education in Samoa.

From 1932 into the mid-1970s the expenditure of the Foundation's funds was governed by a board of trustees in Honolulu. The best known of the trustees was the president and later board-chairman of Kamehameha Schools, Dr. Frank Midkiff, who served throughout this entire 43-year period. One of the largest of Samoa's elementary schools, Leone-Midkiff, was named in his honor.

Over the decades following the establishment of the Barstow fund, the Foundation sponsored a wide range of educational activities. The trustees began by sending to the islands a committee of educational experts to evaluate the existing school program. They also asked Dr. Peter Buck, the part-Maori anthropological authority at the Bishop Museum in Honolulu, to recommend the sort of curriculum best suited to the needs of a new school that would be set up with Barstow money to train Samoan leaders.[22] The school was named Feleti (the Samoan transcription of the Barstows' son's name, Frederic), and it operated as an institution mainly for chiefs' sons from 1934 to 1946.

A large part of the Barstow Foundation income was spent over the years following 1932 on scholarships for Samoan youths to follow advanced studies in Hawaii, on the U.S. mainland, and in Fiji. The Foundation was also the principal source of support for teacher-training activities into the early 1960s.

Table 4-2

ANNUAL PUBLIC-SCHOOL BUDGETS -- 1904-1960 [19]

Year	Budget	Year	Budget
1904	$1,000	1945	$54,985
1922	$9,600	1953	$247,168
1930	$18,539	1960	$368,860
1940	$22,516		

Table 4-2

SCHOOL FINANCING IN FIVE U.S. POSSESSIONS IN 1957 [20]

Possession	Enrollment	Federal Funds	Per Pupil Outlay	Average Teacher Salary
American Samoa	5,012	$307,000	$40.00	$906
Panama Canal Zone	12,118	$3,329,000	$293,58	$5,682
Guam	13,397	$1,154,000	$202.35	$3,788
Puerto Rico	564,041	$6,258,000	$109.13	$2,192
Virgin Islands	6,320	$117,000	$196.55	$3,157

The Barstow family, in effect, exerted an important influence on Samoan education for more than four decades.

Schools at the Upper Secondary Level

So far, our overview of educational development in Eastern Samoa has concentrated on grades 1 through 8, since there were no schools for grades beyond that level before World War II. But at this point we turn our attention to the post-war development of secondary schools and of teacher training at the post-secondary level.

However, before describing the growth of high-school courses we should note briefly what happened to education in the islands during World War II. With the outbreak of hostilities in the Pacific and the influx of thousands of U.S. marines, the schools closed. Many of the older pupils and teachers left the education system to take jobs with the military. The best western-style school buildings were commandeered by the armed forces. For instance, Poyer School's concrete-block building, with its verandahs and Greek pillars, was turned into a military office. The Marist Brothers' buildings overlooking Pago Pago Bay were likewise put to wartime use. Schools in the villages soon opened again. Those villages that had lost buildings to the marines borrowed church quarters or Samoan fales for their classes, so that by the close of the war there were more children in elementary schools than there had been in the 1930s.

Immediately after the defeat of the Japanese in the Pacific, Samoans showed renewed interest in extending educational opportunities beyond the eighth grade. With the cooperation of naval authorities, the islands' first public high school was established on the shores of Pago Pago Bay in 1946. The best pupils from the graduating class of the existing intermediate schools were enrolled in two levels of classes --"preparatory" and "first year". By the 1970s nearly all of the students in this initial pair of classes were holding important posts in the islands' government or commercial establishments. From the viewpoint of the territory's educationanal enterprise, the most significant of the first-year students was a young woman. She would become the first female graduate of the high school. And after attending college on the U.S. mainland, she would return to Samoa to become a teacher and to marry a part-Samoan businessman named Betham. As Mrs. Mere T. Betham, she would become the first woman high-school principal in 1967, the head of curriculum and instruction for the territorial school system in 1970, and Director of Education for American Samoa in 1974. She was the first woman, and only the second Samoan, to hold the top post in the islands' education system, the position traditionally held by the Navy chaplain over the first half of the century.

Throughout the 1950s the high school consisted of grades 10 through 12 and followed a typical U.S. mainland academic curriculum taught from standard mainland textbooks. The school was intended to prepare students to enter mainland colleges or to take positions in local governmental and business offices. Girls who attended the long-established nursing course in the government hospital also enrolled in the high school so they might earn both a high-school diploma and a nursing certificate.

At the close of the war the U.S. Veterans Administration founded a vocational school in a wooden two-story Navy building on Pago Pago Bay. It offered industrial training to Samoans who has served with the armed forces. By 1952 it had fulfilled its original function of giving training to veterans and was closed, only to be reopened the following year under the auspices of the Department of Education to provide vocational studies to public-school students. Each year from 1953 through the mid-1960s the vocational school accepted 35 boys from among ninth-grade junior-high graduates who did not enter the academic high school. The boys were trained to do carpentry, cabinet work, machine and electrical work, boat repair and boat building, logging and sawmilling, plumbing, and welding. Students who succeeded well in their first year's training were permitted to take two additional years of advanced work and to attend selected classes in the academic high school. Eventually the vocational school as a separate institution was closed and its courses integrated into the high-school curriculum on a curtailed scale.

When the high school had opened in the late 1940s, its twelfth grade had offered pupils an opportunity for teacher training in addition to their academic studies. Graduates with this sort of teacher preparation were then hired to teach in the territory's elementary and junior high schools. Over the decade of the fifties the teacher-training course was converted into an additional post-graduate year of study beyond grade 12. By 1960 it had been extended to a two-year course and, in honor of Frederic Duclos Barstow, was named the Feleti Memorial Teacher Training College.[23]

Therefore, by 1960 there were three types of schools above the junior-high level —the academic high school, a vocational-training school, and the teacher-training college.

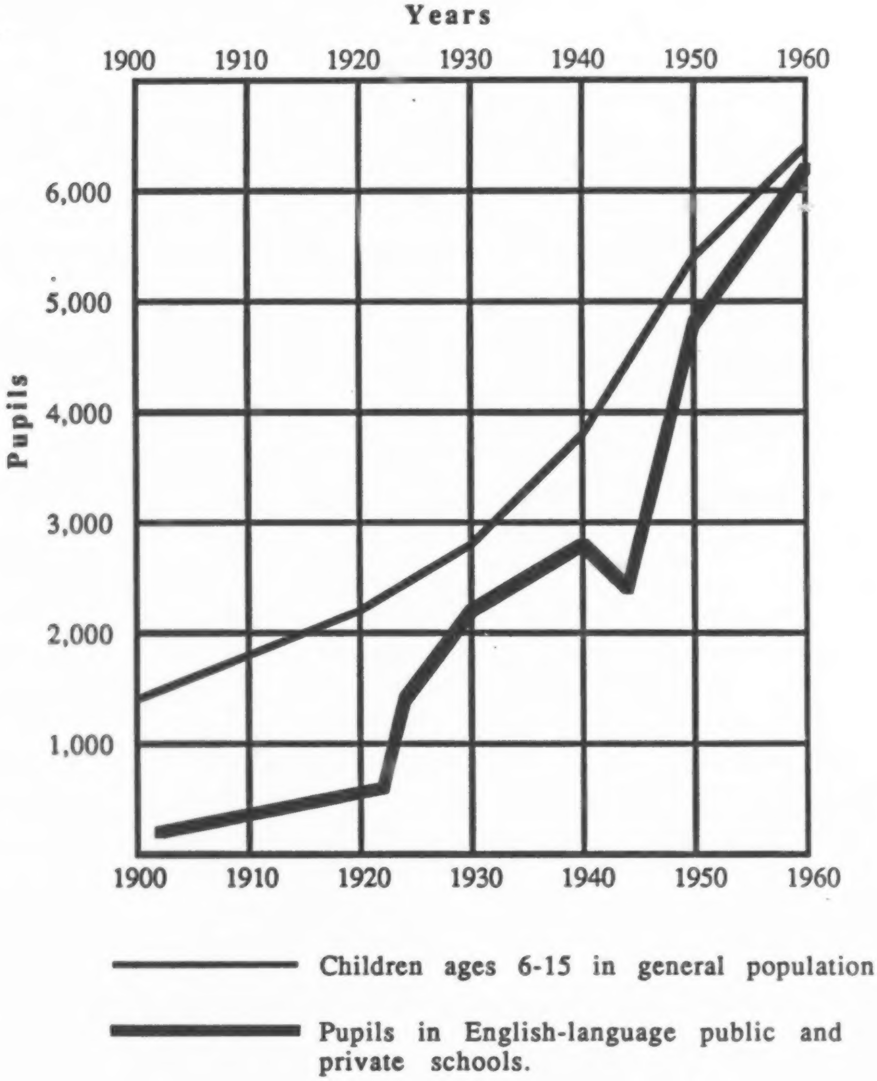
1900-1961: A Summary

To conclude this overview of the general lines of educational development for the first 62 years of U.S. control of Eastern Samoa, we note that enrollment in public or private English-language schools increased over the decades (Figure 4-2). The only drop in numbers of pupils occurred during World War II when many schools were closed and older pupils and teachers took jobs outside the school system. The most rapid increase in pupils attending school came in the last decade of this era when the Department of Interior was in charge of the islands and provided substantially more federal funding to achieve the goal of universal English-language education for Samoa's children.

In addition to the English-language schools whose growth is charted in Figure 4-2, there still were Samoan-language pastors' and catechists' schools in the villages. Most public-school children attended these denominational institutions daily, before or after attending public school,

Figure 4-2

ESTIMATED ENROLLMENT IN ENGLISH-LANGUAGE SCHOOLS, GRADES 1-9



or at least on the weekend.

The increase in numbers of public and private English-language schools over the period of 1928 to 1960 is shown in Tables 4-4 and 4-5. By 1928 there were 18 public schools —about the same number as in 1921-1922. But over the six years after 1922 the enrollment was nearly 400 pupils higher. A quarter of a century later —in 1952— both schools and pupils had grown by 250 percent. And by 1960 schools and pupils had increased 300 percent over 1928.

Thus, educational opportunity and enrollment increased at an accelerating pace over the first six decades of the century as the government showed a growing willingness to finance the education of the islands' young people and as Samoan families gradually became convinced that schooling in the English language was a desirable thing.

With the foregoing sketch of educational growth in mind, we shall next consider the ways that the goals and content of the instructional system developed during Navy times and over the first 10 years of Department of Interior control.

GOALS AND CURRICULA

From the standpoint of what the pupils were supposed to learn, it is useful to divide the 1900-1961 period into three segments. The first, extending from 1900 until the advent of the Barstow Foundation in 1932, found the naval administration stressing the Americanization of the children of Samoa. The curriculum consisted of English language and other subjects typically found in stateside elementary schools, with only a slight local flavor in the form of planatation work in the upper grades. The second segment, lasting from 1932 into the late 1940s, marked the period of progressive education for the islands. During these years the educational establishment sought to focus school studies on the best or most useful aspects of both Samoan and Western culture. The third segment, extending from about 1950 to 1961, represented a reverting back to a stateside academic curriculum designed around textbooks from the U.S. mainland. By inspecting each of these segments, we can identify some of the main forces that brought them about.

Americanization and a Few Simple Truths —1900-1932. We may recall that when Commander Tilley assumed the post of chief administrator for the new U.S. possession in 1900, he had proposed the establishment of schools that would teach "a few simple truths" and English "as a world language." To Tilley and naval governors and chaplains who would succeed him, these truths were found in the typical stateside curriculum. Several governors over the years established strict rules that no language but English should be spoken in the public schools. This ethnocentric viewpoint should not be considered something unique for its times. Rather, it was the attitude that permeated American society during the 1800s and the early decades of the twentieth century as thousands of immigrants from Europe searched for a

Table 4-4

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE SCHOOLS 1928-1960 [25]

Year - 1928	Public Schools	Private Schools	Total
Primary (grades 1-4)	14		14
Elementary-Intermediate (1-8)	4	2	6
	18	2	20

Year - 1952	Public Schools			Private Schools			Total
	Boys	Girls	Mixed	Boys	Girls	Mixed	
Elementary (1-6)			44	2	2	3	51
Junior High (7-9)	2	1	1				4
Senior High (10-12)			1				1
	2	1	46	2	2	3	56

Year - 1956	Public Schools			Private Schools			Total
	Boys	Girls	Mixed	Boys	Girls	Mixed	
Elementary (1-6, 1-8)			45	2	3	1	51
Junior High (7-9)	2	1	2				5
Senior High (10-12)			1				1
Vocational High (10-12)	1						1
Teacher Training (13)			1				1
	3	1	49	2	3	1	59

Year - 1960	Public Schools			Private Schools			Total
	Boys	Girls	Mixed	Boys	Girls	Mixed	
Elementary (1-6)			44			1	45
Elementary (1-8, 1-9)			2	1	3	2	8
Junior High (7-9)	1		4	1			6
Senior High (10-12)			1				1
Vocational High (10-12)	1						1
Teacher Training (13-14)			1				1
	2		52	2	3	3	62

Table 4-5

PUPILS IN ENGLISH-LANGUAGE SCHOOLS --1928-1960 [26]

Year - 1928

Public Schools*	Boys and Girls
Primary (grades 1-4)	1,164
Elementary-Intermediate (1-8)	601
	1,765

*Including Leone Marist Brothers and Sisters Schools and Mapusaga Mormon School.

Year - 1952

Public Schools	Boys	Girls	Total
Elementary (1-6)	1,761	1,487	3,248
Junior High (7-9)	339	222	561
Senior High (10-12)	27	25	52
Public Total	2,127	1,734	3,861
Private Schools -- Elementary	631	624	1,255
Grand Total	2,758	2,358	5,116

Year - 1956

Public Schools	Boys	Girls	Total
Elementary, Junior High (1-9)	2,609	2,228	4,837
Senior High (10-12)	184	95	279
Vocational High (10-12)	56		56
Teacher Education (13)	16	1	17
Public Total	2,865	2,324	5,189
Private Schools -- Elementary	545	531	1,076
Grand Total	3,410	2,855	6,265

Year - 1960

Public Schools	Boys	Girls	Total
Elementary (1-6)	1,896	1,730	3,626
Junior High (7-9)	868	685	1,553
Senior High (10-12)	143	75	218
Vocational High (10-12)	75		75
Teachers College (13-14)	5	5	10
Public Total	2,987	2,495	5,482
Private Schools -- Elementary	491	473	964
Grand Total	3,478	2,968	6.446

better life in America. This push for Americanizing all peoples under the U.S. flag represented the growing nation's attempt to achieve a measure of cultural and political unity among people who came with diverse language and cultural backgrounds. The goal of teaching the English language and typical values of the U.S. schools extended beyond the continental boundaries of the nation to its territories overseas. In the early 1930s Keesing contrasted British policy in Western Samoa with that of the U.S. in Eastern Samoa.

> Where British administrations...take into account the indigenous culture from which natives are drawn and into which nearly all have to return, hence temper their enthusiasm for hastening the "civilising" process and particularly the teaching of English, the American authorities in Samoa as elsewhere have been pressing the new education to the limit possible with the human material and financial resources at hand.[27]

The nature of this "civilising" curriculum in the 1920s is suggested by the list of subjects given at three representative levels of the schooling sequence —Primer B, fourth grade, and Poyer School eighth grade. We should note, however, that Samoan pupils met the studies of grades 4 and 8 when they were considerably older than their fourth- and eighth-grade counterparters on the mainland. In Samoa it took the typical pupil 12 to 13 years to complete the eighth grade because first-grade work was preceded by as many as four years of study in classes labeled Chart and Primer. Such a sequence was necessitated by the Samoan child's lack of any English-language skill prior to entering school at around age six. The four years of preparatory chart and primer classes were supposed to make up for the language deficit before the pupils attempted typical mainland elementary-school studies.

As the following list of items from the course of study suggests, little or nothing of Samoan culture was included in the official curriculum. But since most teachers were Samoans who had little command of English, they necessarily spent much of their class time explaining things in Samoan to the pupils, so school inadvertently gave children constant practice with the Samoan language, especially in the lower grades.

Here, then, is the course of study for Primer-B, Grade-4, and Grade-8 classes. (Such terms as "Newsom primer" and "Maxwell's English Grammar" that appear in the list of studies refer to English-language textbooks from the U.S. mainland or, in the case of the Philippine Reader, to textbooks used in the American-sponsored school system of the Philippines.)

Primer B Class:

1. Reading: Newsom primer.
2. Phonics: Sounds, families, drill words from reader; practice drill words of two letters.
3. Numbers: Count to 100 by 1's, 2's, 5's, and 10's. Count to 50 by 3's

and 4's. Combinations to 15 in addition and subtraction. Combinations to 10 in multiplication and division. One step problems. Three and four times tables.
4. Conversation and English: Review chart work. Physical wonders. Simple home geography. Teach directions. Morals and manners.
5. Hygiene: body —names of parts, face washing, care of the teeth, finger nails, clean nose, eyes, hair, vermin, bathing, ears.
6. Music: Review of ear training. Note songs. Rhythm in games and songs. Names of notes. Rhythm to develop time.
7. Spelling: Simple monosyllables from primer. Work from phonics.

Fourth-Grade Class:

1. Reading: Philippine Reader, Book IV.
2. Phonics: Review all previous work.
3. Arithmetic: Hamilton's Lower Grade, chapters 5 and 6.
4. English: complete Maxwell's Elementary Grammar.
5. Geography: essentials of geography, Brigham and McFarlane, to page 81.
6. Hygiene: Health Lessons, page 95 to end of book.
7. Music: Three-part song, 3/8 time and rhythm, 16th note, slur, tie, and hold. National songs.
8. Spelling: From reader, geography, and daily work. Five new words daily.
9. Penmanship: Work for perfection.
10. Elementary Sewing.

Poyer School Eighth Grade:

1. Reading: Selections from books of English literature.
2. Phonetics: Correct pronunciation of all new words found in daily work.
3. Arithmetic: Hamilton's higher grades complete.
4. English: Emerson and Bender Book II complete.
5. History: Samoan history and translation.
6. Music: Chorus work, especially four-part songs. Instrumental in connection with the Poyer School Band.
7. Spelling: Words from daily work, their synonyms and Samoan meanings.
8. Manual training: Making school desks, tables, chairs, food safes, lava lava boxes (for Samoan wrap-around skirt storage), etc.
9. Sewing: Dresses, undershirts, table covers, lava lavas, etc.
10 Plantation work: Cultivation and care of plants on Poyer plantation.[28]

If we compare these topics with those being taught on the U.S. mainland in the first three decades of the twentieth century, we see that the expectations for the subjects of arithmetic and music were similar in Samoa and in the United States for children of the same ages. The Primer-B children in Samoa were in their third year of school, or about age 8 or 9. They studied multiplication and division, as did their mainland agemates. They were also learning to sing by reading the notes. And it would not be unreasonable to expect Samoan pupils to manage these arithmetic and music skills, for they had already studied such matters in the village pastor's school. But in the realms of English language and of those topics whose mastery depended on a command of English, Samoan children were several years behind their stateside agemates.

Some accommodation to life in Samoa was found in the study of Samoan history in the eighth grade and in the study of sewing, the manual arts, and plantation work in the intermediate and upper grades. But basically the curriculum treated matters foreign, and it treated these matters in a foreign language.

Progressive Education, Samoan Style --1932-1950. The second major era in curriculum focus began in 1932 as a result of suggestions given by a team of educators from the U.S. mainland. The team had been commissioned by the newly established Barstow Foundation to evaluate the current state of the islands' education system and to recommend whatever improvements seemed appropriate. In their assessment, the team members reflected the philosophy of the progressive-education movement that was currently enjoying its most influential decade on the mainland. The visiting educators found fault with American Samoa's existing curriculum and its heavy emphasis on things foreign to islanders' daily experience. Team members recommended that more of the science and culture of the islands be studied. They also attacked the existing teaching methods which depended so heavily on the memorization of the contents of imported textbooks. As a better alternative, committee members recommended the use of activity units, created locally, that would enable children to master language skills and to learn about natural science and social studies by means of more direct daily experiences. Books would not be discarded, but they would serve as supporting resources rather than as the essence of the learning program.

The Barstow committee, in collaboration with the Department of Educations' leaders, proposed that for the future, the school system should adopt:

> An objective which recognizes that much in Samoan ways of life is good in itself and is admirably adapted to the people of these islands, but that American Samoa is undergoing a change, especially through the influence of western civilization. In view of this changing condition, which is likely to go much further as time goes on, the objectives of education should be to conserve the best Samoan culture and at the same time to give acquaintance with the great intellectual tools and social concepts and institutions of the West, to the end that Samoans may maintain respect for their native heritage and skill in their traditional arts and crafts, and at the same time may learn to meet on equal terms with other people the conditions of the modern world.[29]

This expression of policy, sometimes phrased in different forms, remained the stated aim of the educational system into the mid-1970s. In 1933, naval authorities accepted the goal of amalgamating Samoan tradition with western innovations, and education officials set about implementing it. To replace the former course of study, the superintendent and his staff, aided by professors from the University of Hawaii, developed a core curriculum which had a yearly theme. All subjects correlated with these themes: (1) homes and home life, (2) the child's community life, (3) foods and how they are secured, (4) shelter and clothing, (5) transportation, (6) communication, (7) the Polynesian environment, (8) government, and (9) nations as neighbors.[30]

The descriptions of the annual themes and suggestions for ways to carry them out in the classroom were devised by the superintendent's staff without the participation of either Samoan teachers or chiefs. Visiting experts from the University of Hawaii attended the yearly teacher-training institute for Samoans and demonstrated ways to correlate school subjects with broad themes. The visitors explained that classrooms conducted in this more progressive manner allowed children more freedom to express their own ideas and carry out activities on their own.

But as the years passed, it became increasingly clear that this theoretically-sound curriculum was, in practice, less than satisfactory. The classroom teachers, with no more than an eighth-grade education, lacked the expertise required to operate the program efficiently. In the first place, they were still required to give all instruction in English, a language which few if any had mastered to any degree. So in the classroom they spent considerable time, particularly in the lower grades, explaining things in Samoan. This deviationism was consistently condemned by naval officials on the Board of Education and by the palagi (non-Samoan) directors of education who were periodically imported from the mainland.

The 1933 annual report of the Department of Education ordered that "English shall be the only language used. English and Samoan must not be mixed, or English interpreted into Samoan."

The 1934 minutes of the Board of Education cautioned Samoan teachers that "English must be the only language medium. The teacher must observe this, not for his sake but for that of the children."

The 1935 superintendent's annual report said: "It is further recognized that the present practices of translating into the Samoan language is costly in time, and, of far more serious consequence, a distinct handicap to the learning of English. Therefore, no other language than English shall be used in the public schools."

Gradually, however, other voices were raised in defense of using of Samoan in the schools. A Dr. Gordon Brown, principal of Feleti School in Leala, wrote in 1936 that the public school system not only failed to conserve desirable elements of the culture but "works against it. Language is a vital part of the culture. If it is destroyed, much of the culture goes with it."[30]

In the early 1940s some official recognition was given to the sense behind the teachers' continuing to do much of their teaching in Samoan. The 1940 annual report stated that a change from English to Samoan for primary-grade instruction would "actually give a child the academic training he is...supposed to receive but is partly denied because of language difficulty."

But the stated policy of English as the exclusive language of instruction did not change until the end of the 1940s. The annual report of 1951 said:

> In the last two years greater emphasis has been placed upon the use of the vernacular as a means of instruction in the primary section (grades 1, 2, and 3) with English taught as a subject. The transition from the vernacular to English takes place in the intermediate section (grades 4, 5, and 6) with the Samoan language diminishing as the child goes up the grade ladder. English is the means of instruction in the upper section (grades 7, 8, and 9), but Samoan language is occasionally used to facilitate the comprehension of ideas.[31]

This practice continued throughout the 1950s, although the results were still less than satisfactory. Most Samoan teachers' skill in English was far from perfect, and their imperfections were reflected in the speech of their pupils.

So it was that in the 1930s and 1940s language difficulties contributed to the failure of the core curriculum to fulfill the goals for which it was intended. But there were also other negative influences. Principal among these was the teachers' lack of enough professional creativity and proper instructional techniques to develop classroom activities which enabled children to achieve the learning goals. Apparently in many classrooms there was an aimlessness instead of the hoped-for purposeful permissiveness.

A further problem concerned the teaching of Samoan arts and crafts. Villagers complained that the teachers, having focused so much of their attention on learning western ways for so many years, lacked the proper skills for teaching Samoan culture. Artisans in the villages were far more capable of giving such instruction outside the school. The sloppy craftsmanship coming out of the school program was unacceptable in the community. And teaching traditional Samoan agriculture in the schools was regarded by the chiefs as a waste of time.

By the end of the 1940s, disenchantment with the progressive movement of the past two decades was nearly complete. Gradually the schools had worked themselves back to a position similar to that of the 1920s. Although the stated aim of the education system was still to integrate the best that was Samoan and western, in practice the instructional program was again a reflection of what was being done in textbook-centered schools on the U.S. mainland.

As another change, the grade system of the Samoan schools grew to approximate more closely the system in the States, in that the chart and primer levels were gradually eliminated so that Samoan children by the 1960s would enter school in grade 1.

The Revival of the American Textbook --1950-1961: By 1950 the locally produced, mimeographed text materials and activity units had been replaced by textbooks from the States for the subjects of reading, social studies, arithmetic, English language, and general science. Throughout the fifties the curriculum would again be textbook centered and highly academic. In the late 1960s a Samoan chief, high in the education department, reflected on the curriculum planning of the 1950s by observing that:

> A man from Ohio or Indiana would come to head the Education Department or a section in it and would import a large order of textbooks that he remembered fondly from his own school system at home. Two or three years later he would leave, and another man from Kansas or Iowa would come to discard those texts and to order some he liked better.[32]

During this period the central Department of Education each year sent all elementary schools an outline of the coming semester's work as organized around assignments in American textbooks. Each week every class was to complete the assignments for that grade level. But teachers always found this task a very difficult one. Not only were the textbooks and accompanying workbooks difficult for the pupils, but most teachers could not even read English well enough to understand the instructional methods recommended in the teachers' manuals. So to get their children through the semester-end tests, they usually drilled the answers by rote.

In summary, over the first 61 years of the twentieth century, the curriculum passed through three major phases. During the first three decades it focused on textbooks that were foreign to life in Samoa. Beginning in 1932 the curriculum emphasized activity units rather than textbooks, with units focusing on both Samoan and stateside life. Then, around 1950, the schools reverted to an academic, textbook-centered approach. Just as progressive education was out of style on the mainland after World War II, so it was out of style in Samoa as well. The textbook curriculum of the 1950s was still not in phase with much of Samoan daily lfie, but the discrepancy was not so great as it had been in the early days of the century, because Samoan society itself by mid-century had moved more toward western culture.

This, then, was the history of the curriculum. Next we consider the people who were engaged in devising, supervising, and teaching the course of study.

THE HIERARCHY OF EDUCATIONAL PERSONNEL

Under the naval administration and the Interior Department, the personnel in the education system formed a seven-tier hierarchy of responsibility, power, and prestige. And within several of the tiers there were sub-levels of status.

At the top was the supreme authority in the island government, the naval commandant. Or, after 1950, it was the civilian governor who had been appointed by the President of the United States.

Directly beneath the governor was the Board of Education, which was supposedly an important policy-making body. ButwGdan as already mentioned, the board held no real power. Only one of its members wielded much power. He was the Navy chaplain who servced as superintendent of education and bore the official responsibility for the school system during Navy times. He helped draft school policies, he visited schools to see how well they were progressing, and he oftentimes helped prepare teaching schedules.

On the next level below the chaplain was the first professional educator in the hierarchy, the director of education. Over the first few decades of the century he was both head teacher and principal at Poyer School as well as supervisor of instruction for the rest of the public schools. As the education system expanded and the problems of administering it became more complex, the director no longer had time for teaching, and his job became exclusively administrative.

At the fourth level down the personnel ladder was the staff of adminstrative assistants and supervisors that was built up over the decades. All positions above this fourth level were held by white palagis from the mainland. But the supervisory echelon included both Samoan and palagi staff members. It was a mark of distinction for a Samoan to serve in this supervisory capacity.

Who deserves to be placed on the fifth level down could be a matter of some dispute. Would it be the palagi teachers from the mainland or the Samoan elementary-school principals? Some observers would say the palagis, others the Samoan principals. But in most people's eyes it was probably the palagi teachers, since they brought to their job a better command of English and more formal education than did the typical Samoan principal.

The white teachers on this fifth level were of two general varieties, missionaries and contract employees from the mainland. The most widely respected of the mission group were apparently the several Marist Brothers and Sisters who usually stayed in the islands for many years, learning the Samoan language and dedicating themselves assiduously to the education of the islanders. Young Mormon missionaries who taught at Mapusaga school under the direction of a white elder usually stayed in the islands a much shorter time and in this sense resembled the typical contract teacher from the States.

Contract teachers, hired by the government for service in junior and senior high schools, made up a very small percentage of the total public-school teaching force. For example, in 1956 out of the 195 public-school teachers, only 13 (7%) were palagis. At the same time there were 24 private-school teachers (other than village pastors and catechists). Of the 24, nine were whites (38%).[33] By 1960 the teaching corps had grown far larger, to a total of 299 in the public schools. But only 13 of them (4%) were non-Samoans. Private schools in 1960 had 33 teachers, 12 of them (27%) palagis.[34]

Among the contract teachers who served over the 61-year period, some adjusted well to island culture and taught as effectively as might be expected of outlanders who did not speak the native language of their pupils. But Samoans and observant palagis alike agreed that most imported teachers failed to meet the school system's needs. Many of the contract employees had come to the territory as adventurers ("tourist teachers") or as seekers of a haven from an unhappy life on the U.S. mainland. When such teachers' two-year contracts expired, most of them had had their surfeit of island life and left the school system, soon to be replaced by other newcomers who had to start all over in adjusting to the local culture and to teaching in Samoan schools.

One of the prime difficulties faced in attracting and retaining skilled stateside teachers was the salary schedule. In the late 1950s the salary of a contract teacher who had a bachelor degree was less than $3,900, whereas teachers with identical credentials who took positions in Guam or in such trust-territory Pacific islands as Ponape or Truk earned $6,000. A teacher from Hawaii who wished to move into the Samoan school system had to accept at least a $1,000 cut in annual salary when he made the move. Dean Hubert Everly of the University of Hawaii commented in 1960 that as a result of the low Samoan salaries, "Hawaii's teachers with an interest in overseas service find ample opportunity throughout the Pacific and Asia. Samoa is ignored."[35]

Even though the palagi teacher had a relatively low wage, he was still far better off than his Samoan counterpart. Throughout these years a Samoan in the education system received just half the pay of a palagi doing the same job. Therefore, it seems appopriate to place the imported teacher above the school principal in the prestige hierarchy. The palagi earned more, had more formal education, and spoke far better English.

We would then put the Samoan elementary-school principal one step below the contract teacher. Such principals were chosen from among the ranks of teachers to assume the dual role of instructor and principal.

On the seventh or bottom tier of the school's social structure were Samoan teachers. Within this stratum were two sub-levels, with secondary-school instructors on the upper and elementary-school teachers on the lower. Secondary teachers enjoyed higher status because they had more formal education, higher salaries, and the prestige of teaching more advanced subject-matter than did elementary teachers. In the latter 1950s, upper-secondary teachers had bachelor degrees from mainland colleges. In contrast, elementary-school teachers had been trained only in the local schools. Their preparation ranged from a junior-high education to the two years of post-high-school training received at Feleti Memorial Training College. The great majority of teachers were in the elementary grades. For example, in 1956 over 97 percent of the Samoan teachers were in grades 1 through 9. By 1960 the total Samoan teaching force had grown more than 60 percent (from 187 teachers in 1956 to 301 in 1960), but over 95 percent of them were still assigned to grades 1 through 9.

At the beginning of the century nearly all teachers were man. By 1926 when there were 38 Samoan teachers in the public-school system, only 2 (12%) were women. The practice of making teaching a male profession was in keeping both with the missionary pattern of having men in charge of most church work and with the Samoan tradition of having men in charge of the education of boys. But by mid-century the move to have more women in teaching was proceeding at an accelerated pace. In 1956 the elementary-school teaching corps, public and private, was 75 percent male. Four years later it was only 64 percent male.[36]

Problems of Teacher Training and Teacher Retention. Throughout the 1900-1961 period, naval offcials and mainland educators alike complained about the inadequacies of the Samoan teaching staff. Three factors were usually blamed for their shortcomings —cultural backgroud, training, and wages.

Among the cultural shortcomings, the most important was the teachers' inadequate mastery of English. Since they came from Samoan-language homes, teachers had to learn their English in school. And in most cases their school training in English had been of low quality, since it had been given by older Samoan teachers who themselves had not mastered the language. In the 1950s it was estimated that the typical Samoan elementary-school teacher had no better command of English reading and writing than a fourth-grade child on the U.S. mainland. And orally the Samoan teacher was often considerably less skilled than the mainland fourth grader. The problem with English necessarily contributed to teachers' deficiencies in other subjecst-matter areas as well, particularly in science and the social studies, since most learning in these fields was available only in printed or spoken English. Furthermore, many concepts and events described in imported textbooks were unfamiliar to Samoan teachers, so they could give only distorted or fragmentary explanations of such matters to their pupils.

The system of training teachers in Samoa was always behind the system in Hawaii and in the States. For example, it was 1921 before the most basic of formal teacher-education provisions in the islands were begun with the teacher institute set up by Regular 5:

> All native teachers shall, for a period of six weeks beginning the first Monday in January, attend the teachers' training course which shall be conducted at Poyer School.[37]

This institute, lasting for several weeks and often supplemented by an additional two weeks in the summer, formed the teacher-training program until the end of World War II. The course was usually conducted by the better-educated local staff, such as Marist Brothers, the elder in charge of the Mormon school, or contract teachers from the mainland. In later years Barstow Foundation funds were used to import visiting professors from the University of Hawaii and mainland colleges.

The source of new Samoan teachers was usually the top grade of the public-school system. During the first few decades of the century, this was the highest grade of Poyer School. Apt and interested pupils in the top class were given some instruction in teaching methods in addition to their regular academic studies. Later, when they were hired to teach in an elementary school, they would be tested in the middle of the school year to determine if their knowledge was adequate to finish out the year.

In the latter 1940s the teacher institute was continued as an inservice-education program, while the preservice training program was placed in the high school. At first the senior year of high school becamce the time of preservice teacher education. Gradually over the 1950s this program was separated from the regular academic offerings to become a post-secondary thirteenth year. In 1956 it was given its own administrative identity as Feleti Memorial Teacher Training College, with 10 students enrolled. The course was soon extended to one-and-one-half years, then by 1960 to two years with 17 students enrolled. It was always easy to find teaching posts for Feleti College graduates, since the islands' teaching force constantly suffered a rapid turnover of personnel.

As a result of this gradually evolving teacher-preparation program in Eastern Samoa, the instructional corps at any one time would consist of people with significantly different levels of formal training. For instance, in 1961 the highest level of schooling completed by teachers currently staffing the elementary and junior-high schools ranged from grade-8 to college graduation (Table 4-6). The average (median) teacher in 1961 had finished the equivalent of the middle of the sophomore year of high school.

Table 4-6

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUNDS OF SAMOAN TEACHERS IN 1961 [38]

Highest Grade Completed	Number of Teachers	Highest Grade Completed	Number of Teachers
Grade 8	2	Grade 12 or equivalent	34
Grade 9	127	Grade 13 (1 year of teacher training)	54
Grade 10	68	B. A. degree	2
Grade 11	24		

But in terms of academic attainment, the high-school sophomore level was considerably less than it might appear, because Samoan high-school students scored consistently lower on standadized English-language achievement tests from the U.S. mainland than students of the same class level in the States. For example, grade 12 pupils in Samoan high schools scored in English reading and grammar at about the level of the average sixth or seventh grader in typical mainland schools.[39] Thus, it is apparent that the Samoan teacher's academic preparation for conducting an English-language educational program was far below that of the typical mainland teacher who held a bachelor degree.

The third factor causing shortcomings in the teaching force was that of inadequate compensation. A policy of paying Samoan personnel about half the amount paid to contract employees from the mainland or Hawaii for doing the same job was in effrect until the early 1970s. This policy was resented by Samoan teachers and administrators, and it seems to have accounted for much of the turnover in the teaching ranks. When teachers learned that they could earn more in other departments of the government or in the armed services, they often left the classroom. In 1930 the monthly salary for Samoan teachers ranged from $5 to $50, with the average at $22. The Marist Brothers who taught on government salaries at this same time earned $75 a month.[40] By 1960 the average annual wage for Samoan teachers was $750 ($62.50 per month), which helped account for the fact that there was a 30 percent turnover in the teaching force each year in the 1950s and early 1960s.[41]

So it was that Samoan elementary-school teachers formed the heavily populated bottom level of the seven-tiered personnel hierarchy of the territorial school system.

Summarizing the Personnel Ledger —1900-1961. When we review those personnel factors that tended to strengthen and those that tended to weaken the quality of education in Eastern Samoa's schools during these years, we can identify at least three belonging in the positive column of the ledger and three in the negative column.

One positive force was the effort made by several governors and Navy chaplains to improve schooling and obtain federal funds for education. Also among the positive factors was the cluster of missionaries —particularly Marists— and contract teachers whose dedication, teaching skill, and ability to understand Samoans enabled them to guide Samoan pupils' learning activities effectively. But perhaps even more impaortant were those Samoan teachers and administrators who stayed with the school system over the years, giving the educational enterprise the continuity it required to expand and improve. These Samoans served through the decades with low pay, inadequate supplies, and the frustrations produced by an ever-changing series of palagi supervisors and directors of education who held the top positions in the educational hierarchy.

In contrast to these positive personnel elements is perhaps a more powerful array of forces on the negative side. One of the most destructive factors was the rapid turnover of personnel, Samoan and palagi alike. Another was the low pay scale which discouraged capable mainlanders from accepting permanent jobs in the islands and discouraged many of the most skilled Samoans from entering or staying with the teaching profession. A further negative factor was the inadequate academic and professional preparation that teachers received in the territory's teacher-training system. Compared to teachers and administrators on the mainland and in other U.S. territories, those in Samoa were generally not as well fitted to do their jobs.

These, then, were the teachers and administrators in the English-language, secular schools —public and private. Next we consider the characteristics of the pupils who attended Eastern Samoa's schools between 1900 and 1961.

THE PUPIL POPULATION

When the Navy took over Eastern Samoa in 1900, the belief that everyone should have some schooling was already well established within the populace. Seventy years of Christian missions, with strong support from the chiefs, had seen to that. But the belief that everyone needed to master English and the other subjects taught in the typical stateside school was quite a different matter. Over the 1900-1961 era, persistent efforts by a variety of governors and educators, as well as certain influential Samoans and part-Samoans, were exerted to establish compulsory, universal education in the English language. At the same time, contrary cultural and economic pressures pushed in the opposite direction, discouraging universal attendance in the English-language schools for the usual six or eight years that compulstory schooling programs usually involved. As a result of the interplay of these pressures, school attendance gradually grew over the 1900-1961 period, but universal education as it was known on the U.S. mainland was never completely achieved. We may better comprehend the composition of the pupil population during these years if we describe the nature of the conflicting pressures and trace their interaction.

Three of the most influential factors encouraging widespread enrollment in the English-language schools were government laws, economic opportunities, and social prestige. Three important factors discouraging attendance were the uselessness of the curriculum for succeeding in traditional Samoan society, the difficulty of mastering the English-language curriculum under the existing teaching conditions, and the conflict between a number of school practices and traditional Samoan culture. In discussing these forces, we begin with the three that encouraged universal schooling.

Naval Administration Laws. As early as 1912 the naval governor, W.M.

Crose, stated that all children should have a chance to learn English, and he issued the Compulsory Education Regulation to bring this about. According to the regulation each child between ages 6 and 13 had to attend school at least four days a week during the school year.[42] But like many such regulations, it expressed more hope than reality, because it was unenforceable. There were too few schools to accommodate the school-age children, and village authorities did not seem inclined to see that the regulation was obeyed. Most children already attended pastors' and catechists' schools, and this was sufficient in the eyes of most parents.

During the 1920s naval authorities sought to put teeth in the compulsory-education law by assigning teachers and the village peace officer (the pulenuu) to issue warnings to parents whose children were not attending school through grade 4. If the warning was not heeded within two days, parents were liable to a fine "not to exceed $15, or imprisonment not to exceed two months, with or without hard labor."[43]

But the shortage of schools and the disinclination of pulenuus to prosecute parents left the law still unenforced. However, the regulation and growing pressures within Samoan society itself to enroll pupils in secular schools did increase the school population throughout the 1920s and 1030s. The growth was recorded mainly in the primary grades. After a year or two of school, a large proportion of the pupils dropped out. Table 4-7 shows the percentage of pupils at each grade level in the late 1920s, then again in 1953 and 1960. From 1926 through 1930, nearly half of the population was enrolled in the chart class (between 44 and 47 percent). The upper grades —6 through 8— had less than 6 percent of the schools' pupils. More than 20 years later, in 1953, there was still a significant dropout problem after the primary grades. Nearly half the school population was in grades 1 and 2. But a vigorous effort to retain children in school over the next seven years resulted in a far more balanced enrollment throughout the elementary grades by 1960. Of the 5,738 pupils in grades 1 through 8 in 1960, 14 percent were in grade 1, while 12 percent were in grade 8, with the percentages in the other grades not differing from these figures more than a few points. But even by 1960, when the compulsory-education age-range had been raised to 7-through-15 years, not all children of these ages were in school. Some villages had failed to comply with the government ruling which required that villagers provide a satisfactory school building before a teacher would be furnished, so pupils in these areas could not attend school unless they went to a neighboring community or enrolled in a private school.

Governor Crose's wish that all children attend school came to be fulfilled over the years far more adequately than his desire that Samoan children become proficient in English. Since most instruction in the primary grades was in Samoan, the pupils who dropped out after three or four years learned little or no English. And even those who continued into grades 5 through 8 usually gained only a rudimentary command of English because their language backgrounds and the schools' instructional program were inadequate. So throughout the 61-year period, increasing numbers of

Table 4-7

ENROLLMENT BY GRADE LEVEL --1926-1960 [44]

Year	Grade Level									
	Chart	Primer	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1926*										
Pupils	784	264	209	198	172	92	47	20	15	4
% of Total	44%	15%	12%	11%	10%	5%	3%	1%	1%	.2%
1929*										
Pupils	891	318	160	168	128	100	84	53	37	17
% of Total	46%	16%	8%	9%	7%	5%	4%	3%	1.5%	.5%
1930*										
Pupils	952	263	199	168	129	144	52	70	33	35
% of Total	47%	13%	10%	8%	6%	7%	3%	4%	1%	1%
1953*										
Pupils			1,058	810	658	435	346	348	229	199
% of Total			26%	20%	16%	11%	8%	8%	6%	5%
1960**										
Pupils			829	927	872	611	524	605	685	689
% of Total			14%	16%	15%	11%	9%	11%	12%	12%

* Public schools only
** Public and private schools

pupils entered public and private schools, but at no time did a majority of them gain the mastery over the English-language curriculum that would prepare them to participate effectively in an English-speaking society.

Economic Opportunities. As a money economy made inroads on the traditional subsistence economy, increasing numbers of parents recognized that more economic opportunities were open to young people who spoke English than to ones who did not. Boys who wanted to join the Navy or Marines needed English. Ones who sought positions with the local government had better chances for employment if they knew English. As the decades passed, Samoans migrated increasingly to Hawaii and to the U.S. mainland, particularly to areas on the West Coast where large naval installations were situated. If they were to adapt to life abroad, they needed to communicate in English. Therefore, in the eyes of parents who wanted these economic and travel opportunities available to their children, the English-language schools in the islands appeared to be useful institutions.

Social Prestige. In old Samoa prestige for males in the society was associated with physical prowess and courage. The sailor who would brave the storm, the youth who would bear the pain of tattooing, and the fierce warrior were all accorded respect. Prestige was also associated with fine craftsmanship. The skilled house or boat builder, the clever toolmaker, and the woman who wove the finest mats were highly regarded. But in addition to physical skills, intellectual talents were honored as well. A talking chief who could accurately trace the lineage of matai titles and could slip into his narratives apt allusions to legend and to events of the past was held in high esteem.

The missionary influence of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries increased the prestige of the learned person, particularly of the individual who could read and write fluently and had access to the mysteries found in books in foreign tongues. The people on the highest levels of the Samoan social-power structure were the ones who took greatest advantage of the schools introduced by the white men. And in the transition from religious to secular schooling in twentieth-century Eastern Samoa, it continued to be the chiefs' and pastors' children who were found in greatest numbers in the newly evolving secular schools. Furthermore, the schools that offered the more advanced studies and had the best reputations for good teaching and strict discipline were the ones attended by the children of Samoan matais and of part-Samoans (hafakasi) who controlled most of the private business enterprises that were growing up around Pago Pago Bay and in other populous areas of Tutuila. Prominent among such schools were Poyer School and the institutions directed by Marist Brothers and Sisters.

The idea that advanced schooling was prestigious was given additional impetus in the 1930s when a substantial part of the Barstow Foundation's income was used in 1934 to set up the elitist junior-secondary school for the sons of chiefs. The Feleti Memorial High School continued until 1946 when the public senior high school was established.

Formal education, particularly of an advanced variety, was not viewed as equally desirable for both sexes. In traditional Samoan society, men had always been accorded more power and privilege than women. Leadership and intellectual skills were considered more appropriate for males than for females. And even though educational authorities in the naval administration attempted to promote the equality of the sexes found in stateside schools, enrollment patterns in Eastern Samoa continued to relect traditional Samoan attitudes. Gradually over the decades higher proportions of girls entered the more advanced grades, but even as late as 1959 when there were 53 percent boys and 47 percent girls in grades 1 through 9, there was a ratio of 68 percent boys to 32 percent girls in the upper-seconday grades of 10 through 14 (academic high school, vocational school, nurses training, and teacher training).[45]

After considering the foregoing three factors that encouraged increased school attendance, let us turn to three that limited attendance —lack of applicability of the curriculum to daily Samoan life, difficulties with learning English, and conflicts between school and traditional culture.

Unsuitable Curriculum. There was little or nothing in the English-language curriculum which parents could see would help equip a child to function well in traditional Samoan society. The skills of reading the Bible in the Samoan language, of doing simple arithmetic, and of knowing something of history and geography were already learned in the village pastor's school. It is true that the subjects of sewing and plantation work were taught in the upper grades of the public school, but these skills could also be learned at home. This lack of usefulness of the curriculum caused many parents either to keep their children out of school or to let them drop out after the first year or two.

Difficulty in Learning English. As noted earlier, most Samoan teachers had only the most rudimentary understanding of English, particularly during the early decades of the century. Furthermore, they had little command of the skills of language instruction. And for the communication needs of most people in the islands, English was not required. It also became clear to parents that after their children attended the English-language schools for several years, they still could not read or speak English with any fluency. Therefore, attending such schools seemed of little use.

Conflicts with Samoan Custom. Several educational practices imported from the U.S. mainland were in sufficient conflict with Samoan tradition to seriously dampen parents' enthusiasm for public schools. Whereas Samoan custom emphasized cooperation for the welfare of the aiga or group, the school encouraged personal competitiveness and the besting of one's classmates. While Samoan society rewarded children's growing up gradually and not trying to assume privilege or responsibility beyond their years, the school rewarded precocity and fostered public displays of one child getting ahead of another. It is true that the pastors' schools also encouraged these traits, but the competitiveness was evidenced primarily once a year when the missionary inspector arrived for the annual examination. The public school, in contrast, promoted such displays in daily oral questioning in class or in periodic test sessions.

The separation of boys and girls, a Samoan custom related to the brother-sister taboo, had been honored by the pastors' and catechists' schools and in Sunday School. But the public school introduced the mainland practice of mixing boys and girls in the same class, and this did not sit well with Samoan parents.

As mentioned before, the Samoan term musu, meaning "out of sorts" or "not feeling up to it," was an acceptable reason in Samoan society for a person to absent himself from his usual obligations. Parents would accept musu as a sufficient reason for a child's staying out of school, but school personnel would not. Parents also felt that visiting a sick relative or going on an extended trip —a malaga — to another village was more important than attending school.

These conflicts and others like them resulted not only in lower enrollment figures than school authorities desired but also caused many chidlren to attend school irregularly so that their progress with academic work was retarded. As the decades advanced, such conflicts gradually became less significant, for it was not just the public school but Samoan society in general that was changing toward western ways.

In this section we have been considering the quantity of pupils attending English-language schools (which, in truth, were "Samoan-translation" schools at the lower grade levels), and we have identified some of the main forces that influenced the gradual progress toward universal schooling beyond the pastors' and catechists' classes. We turn now to the matter of the quality of students.

The Quality of Achievement. Throughout the 1900-1961 period, each time students from Samoan schools were compared with those in Hawaii or on the U.S. mainland, the Samoans were found wanting. In the 1930 congressional hearings on conditions in American Samoa, a mainland Samoan submitted a complaint about the quality of schooling under the naval administration. He buttressed his complaint with an anecdote about a friend who had graduated from Poyer School in 1918 "with the highest honors.... His folks desiring that he should have more education, sent him to Honolulu. Imagine his chagrin, when as a big boy and a graduate of the highest school in American Samoa, his examination at Honolulu entitled him to go only into the third grade."[46]

Over the following years other Samoan students who moved to Hawaii or to the States often experienced similar difficulties, finding themselves behind their mainland agemates in school achievement. Graduates of the high school in the 1950s were rarely accepted into first-rate mainland colleges. On standardized tests from the States, Samoan pupils scored several grades below mainland pupils. For instance, Table 4-8 shows that in 1960 the ninth-grade Samoans who took the Science Research associates achievement battery in English scored only as high as sixth graders on the mainland.

Table 4-8

SRA TEST SCORES OF SAMOAN NINTH-GRADERS IN 1960 [47]

Grade Level	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Total
Pupils with Equal to Each Mainland Grade Level	13	160	151	105	36	26	5	1	497

Average Grade Achievement = 6.1

Therefore, on standardized English-language achievement tests, Samoan pupils were markedly inferior to students in the same grade in the States, even though the Samoans in these grades were usually older than students in the States. (In the 1950s the typical age for entering tenth grade in American Samoa was 17, and the age for graduating from high school was 20 —nearly two years older than mainland students.)

Samoan Students —A Summary. In reviewing the condition of the pupil population in Eastern Samoa over the 1900-1961 period, we cam recognize that a larger proportion of the islands' school-age children attended English-medium schools with the passing of each decade. The lone exception to this trend occurred during World War II when some schools were closed and older students left the classroom to take jobs. The enrollment ideal that was set by naval authorities —universal compulsory schooling from age 7 through age 15— was nearly achieved by 1961, though there was still a problem of students dropping out of school in the intermediate and junior-high grades. Because there was only one high school by the end of the 1950s, the majority of the junior-high graduates were obliged to end their formal education. There simply was no place for them to go for advanced schooling. When 497 students took the entrance examination for the high school in 1960, the high school had space to accept only 130.

As for the quality of learning, the pupils of American Samoa were always substantially below those of mainland schools when achievement was judged by standardized tests and by the level of textbooks that students could read with understanding. During these years, local educators often debated the question of whether it was fair to judge Samoan pupils' achievement by scores on standardized tests imported from the mainland. As we shall see later, this issue would continue to be argued into the 1980s.

TEACHING METHODS

Insruction in most classrooms over the first half-century consisted of the teacher's explaining —usually by translating into Samoan— the material in the textbook and then drilling pupils on the material so they would memorize it. Oftentimes the pupils did not have copies of the text to read by themselves, so the teacher would write phrases from the book onto the blackboard for pupils to copy and memorize.

To motivate students to study, teachers mainly used the threat of corporal punishment, followed by a slap or a few swats with a switch or with a belt if the threat proved insufficient. Another favorite sort of punishment was the assignment of cutting grass or pulling weeds in the school yard. The use of corporal punishment was quite consistent with Samoan tradition and thus the practice enjoyed the support of the home. If a child went home and complained that he had been spanked at school, the typical Samoan parent would not commiserate with him and then complain to school authorities. Rather, the parent would whip the child again for disgracing the family by misbehaving at school. Hence, the child who was punished at school would be wise to keep quiet about the incident and endeavor not to misbehave again.

In the mid-1950s a new director of education from the U.S. mainland adopted the policy that had been evolving in school systems of the United States, that is, a policy of banning corporal punishment in the school. Samoan teachers, unconvinced that the new rule was desirable, thereafter frequently reported children's misdemeanors to the home where the parents would administer the whipping.[48]

Although teaching methods in most classrooms tended to stress memorization of textbook contents, other methods of learning were also employed by some teachers, particularly during the 1930s and early 1940s when the curriculum was organized around activity units. At the annual teachers' institute, visiting experts explained how to involve pupils in more problem solving related to life-like experiences that the teacher would create. However, the typical teacher's weak background, difficulties with English, and lack of thorough grounding in teaching methodology caused most teachers to depend more on traditional drill and memorization techniques.

SCHOOL FACILITIES AND TEACHING MATERIALS

Compared with U.S. mainland schools, those in Samoa were always inadequately housed and suffered serious shortages of books and instructional aids.

As for housing, in the 1950s the public school system still followed the school-building policy that had grown up in the first decade of the century. At the elementary-school level, the village was obligated to furnish the school buildings and teachers' living quarters. At the junior-

and senior-high levels, the central government provided the school buildings. During the first decades of the century nearly all elementary schools were housed in Samoan fales, with their ring of posts, thatched roof, and coral-gravel floor. During the 1940s and 1950s, increasing numbers of elementary schools were of a western type, square wooden buildings of somewhat ramshackle construction. However, by 1961 more than half of the islands' 47 elementary schools were still in fales.

Over the years there were always complaints about the school buildings, particularly on the part of non-Samoans who either taught in the schools or were associated with their administration. When the congressional committee visited the islands in 1930, the director of education, Paul T. Diefenderfer, reported that:

> All of the schools are very poorly equipped. Only Poyer School, Leone Brothers, and Tau having desks for the larger children. The smaller children of these schools and of all the other schools are compelled to sit hunched over on the floor. This is very deterimental to the child's health, especially in damp weather.[49]

Nor were the private schools exempt from housing problems. Brother Michael of the Marist School on Pago Pago Bay has described the quality of the original structure erected in 1915:

> The school house soon gave evidence that it had been erected at the least possible expense. Chunks of masonry, consisting of a great deal of sand and a modicum of cement, broke off everywhere with the result that the door frames held up only out of sheer good will. The "concrete" floor was so soft that even with their unshod feet the boys soon reduced it to a sandpit. Desks and benches had to be patched up constantly. The rest of the school furniture gave no trouble —there wasn't any.[50]

In subsequent years the Brothers themselves rebuilt their school to correct these early deficiencies.

The idea of encouraging local initiative and responsibility by placing the burden of school construction on the villagers succeeded in its purpose in certain communities, but in others it did not. The central government would not provide a teacher or supplies to a village unless its building was in proper order. As a result, villages that did not manage to erect a suitable school house were simply left out of the public school system. By the mid-1950s so many villages were in arrears in paying back funds they had borrowed for constructing schools that the Bank of American Samoa would no longer loan money for school buildings.

When Dean Everly of the University of Hawaii visited Eastern Samoa as a member of the 1960 congressional investigation committee, he concluded that the open fale school buildings had a "quaint appearance" to the tourist, but:

> ...they are extremely unsuitable for the development of an instructional program even distantly related to American standards.... Schools without furniture, blackboards, even walls, are scarcely beyond classes conducted under shade trees.... Under New Zealand's guidance, Western Samoa is well into a systematic program of consolidation and transition from primitive to more modern school structures. In contrast, American Samoa's central government has built no new schools since the departure of naval administration a decade ago.[51]

Not all schools were as barren as those Dean Everly referred to in his complaint. Many had blackboards and some had a few maps and charts. The secondary schools were generally better equipped than were the village elementary schools. But it is true that in terms of teaching aids, the Samoan schools were poor indeed when compared to mid-twentieth-century schools in the United States and in its other territories.

An even more serious obstacle to efficient instruction than the school buildings was the shortage of suitable textbooks and other reading materials. During the 62-year span, educators used five approaches to solving the textbook problem: (1) importing English-language books from the U.S. mainland, (2) using English-language school books that had been developed for other U.S. territories, (3) writing English-language books locally to suit Samoan conditions, (4) writing Samoan-language books locally, and (5) importing Samoan-language materials that had been created for use in Western Samoa's schools. Which of these sources was emphasized during a given decade depended on the nature of the curriculum currently in vogue, on the personal views of the top-level administrators, and on the availability of the particular sort of textbook that the source could provide.

By far the most popular practice was to import U.S. mainland textbooks. The use of such materials began shortly after the Navy took over the islands in 1900 and naval governors endeavored to Americanize Samoan children. Books from the States were used throughout the 1910s and 1920s, then were deemphasized under progressive-education practices in the 1930s and early 1940s. After World War II the schools once again introduced stateside texts until throughout the 1950s books from the mainland formed the main learning resource.

The shortcomings of such materials were always apparent. Samoan students did not have enough English-language reading skill to understand texts written for their agemates on the mainland. And when Samoan pupils found a book simple enough to read, the subject matter was usually unsuitalbe —too babyish for children their age. Furthermore, few of the incidents and topics of the mainland texts had anything to do with daily life in Samoa. Snow, cattle ranches, big cities, trains, crowded highways, harvesting wheat and corn at the end of summer, making one's bed in the morning, and many other events in the stories were foreign to the Samoan child's experience. It was not that educators objected to some teaching about life abroad, but that they would also like to have had materials which treated matters that were meaningful in the Samoan pupil's daily life.

In the 1920s an attempt was made to adapt text materials to island conditions by importing readers designed for English-language schools in the Philippines. But as the years passed, it became clear that life in the Philippines was not identical to life in Samoa, so education officials substituted books prepared for Hawaii's schools for the texts from the Philippines.

From time to time during the naval administration, non-Samoan teachers or directors of the Department of Education wrote English-language materials to meet the needs of Samoan students and teachers. One of the most successful teachers who came to the islands during the second decade of naval adminstration, F.J. Bohl, wrote Elements of the English Language for Samoans, published by the London Mission Society Press, Malua, in 1917.[52] The Marist Brothers also made significant contributions, especially during the latter 1930s when the curriculum was organized around themes for which textbooks were often not available. For example, Brother Herman Seringer wrote a simplified version of Sir Peter Buck's Samoan Material Culture for use in the schools. In the 1950s, contract employees from the mainland occasionally wrote pamphlets on such topics as health, nature study, Samoan customs, and local social organization. An illustration is the pamphlet entitled The Government of American Samoa, written by Richard A. Greer, the superintendent of secondary education.[53]

Although the locally written texts made a useful contribution to the school system, they suffered from a lack of the professionalism that marked the better commecially published texts from overseas. The local materials were often not written in a very readable style, they were sometimes factually inaccurate, their mimeographed print was small and sometimes difficult for pupils to make out, and they did not contain the attractive illustrations found in stateside books. Furthermore, very few of the islands' educators had the time, talent, interest, and informational resources to write locally appropriate material. Hence, English-language texts produced in the islands made up only a small part of the instructional resources used in the schools.

In the early years of the century some of the church-published Samoan-language instructional materials were suitable for use in secular schools —materials such as those in arithmetic and geography. Around the middle of the century, members of the Department of Education attempted to develop a Samoan reader entitlted O Le Tusi Faitau. However, the text was in fine print and lacked the pictures and accompanying exercises found in modern reading texts. Thus, it was apparent that the Department lacked the skilled writing staff needed to create the sorts of texts in the vernacular that were needed in the primary grades. In the 1950s a weekly news magazine for school children in Western Samoa was printed in New Zealand, and copies were obtained for grades 4 through 6 in American Samoa.

Samoan-language translations of a few English literary classics, such as Stevenson's Treasure Island, were also produced in New Zealand and some copies were secured for upper-grade students in Eastern Samoa.[54] But this was the extent of native-language reading matter that was well adapted for use in secular schools.

In summary, over the 62-year span the schools faced continuing problems in obtaining the sorts of texts and supplementary reading resources needed to mount a sound educational program.

Not only was it difficult to locate appropriate books, but it was also difficult to ensure that all pupils had books to use. Until the mid-1950s pupils at all grade levels had to buy their textbooks from the teacher, who obtained them from the central government. In the mid-1950s books were supplied free for grades 1 through 6, but secondary-school students still had to purchase their own. Since many parents failed to buy the required books, pupils often went to school without the necessary texts. In some remote villages, only the teacher had a copy of the textbooks. Naval authorities in the 1920s tried to enforce the book-purchase rule by legal sanctions.

> Should any pupil fail to obtain any of the school supplies designated by the superintendent of education, his or her parent or guardian shall, upon conviction, be liable to a fine not to exceed $15 or to imprisonment not to exceed two months, with or without hard labor.[55]

The regulation, however, was rarely if ever enforced, and over the years many pupils continued to attend school without the benefit of books. As noted above, the final solution at the elementary level was to furnish books free. High-school students, who were the selected minority that had passed the entrance examination, considered school more a privilege than an obligation; consequently, they and their parents made more serious efforts to obtain the required texts.

SUMMARY — THE 1900-1961 ERA

After a half century of naval administration and ten years under the Department of the Interior, the public school system by 1961 had grown to include 47 elementary schools, five junior highs, one senior high, and three vocational schools (nursing, teaching, industrial arts). These were supplemented by nine church schools that enrolled over 20 percent of the islands' school population.

In the earliest days of the century, the Navy had contracted with religious orders, particularly the Marists, to provide part of the teaching staff, an arrangmenet continued until the middle of the century. However, the great majority of teachers were Samoans trained in the islands. The top positions in the schools' administrative hierarchy were held by naval officers (the chaplain was superintendent of schools) and non-Samoans hired on two-year contracts from the mainland.

Throughout the 1900-1961 period the schools of Samoa were markedly inferior to those of Hawaii and the U.S. mainland in terms of housing, instructional supplies, staff members' salaries, teachers' professional preparation and skills, and students' performance on achievement tests. By 1961 the great majority of children between ages 7 and 15 were enrolled in public or private schools, but attendance was still not universal. Some children dropped out after the early primary grades, and many more attended class only erratically.

A congressional study mission, sent to the islands in 1960 to see what might be done for this neglected South Seas colony, suggested the following changes be made in the educational enterprise:

1. Increase per pupil expenditures for operating costs to a level commensurate with other U.S. possessions.
2. Consolidate schools and reduce the number from 56 to about 25....
3. Appropriate $3.6 million over the next 5-year period for school plant development....
4. Gradually reduce the teaching force, as schools are consolidated, by about one-third to adjust pupil-teacher ratio to about 25-1.
5. Increase teacher salary schedules to yield an average annual wage of about $1,500....
6. Provide high school and vocational educational facilities for triple the number now accommodated.
7. Expand teacher training facilities sharply to provide at least fifty 2-year graduates annually.
8. Extend federal educational aid programs to American Samoa which are currently provided to other American possessions.
9. Adjust expenditures to provide for improved instructional materials and literacy in both Samoan and English.
10. Provide a free public educational system for all children age 6 to 16.
11. Amend the Education Code to provide for the free expression and development of educational policy by the Samoan people through their board of education.
12. Improve public information services and the public library so that the educational level of the adult population may be raised.[56]

Unlike the recommendations to Washington made by naval commandants in the early years of the century, these suggestions about federally funded improvements to the public school system were not ignored. All of them received immediate and serious attention. In the 1960s, Eastern Samoa would undergo the greatest change in educational procedures experienced by the islanders since the missionaries had arrived 130 years earlier.

Chapter 5

VIDEOTAPES —1961-1975

Several forces converged at the beginning of the 1960s to set off the changes that would make American Samoa's educational system famous throughout the world for its television schooling.

A first force was the publication in 1961 of the congressional study of life in American Samoa, a study that included recommendations for major improvements in the territory's educational, political, and economic institutions.[1]

A second force was the July 1961 Reader's Digest article ("Samoa: America's Shame in the South Seas"), which informed the American public of the neglect of their Polynesian colony.[2]

Third was the up-coming meeting of the South Pacific Commission, scheduled for Pago Pago in mid-1962. The Commission is a kind of united nations of Oceania. It was established in 1948 to advise governments that controlled South Sea islands of ways to improve the health, education, and social-welfare conditions of island peoples. The Commission's membership originally consisted of six western powers that governed South Pacific territories —Australia, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The Netherlands dropped out after having relinquished control of Western New Guinea to Indonesia in 1962. In subsequent years three island nations also joined the Commission after they gained independence from colonial masters —Western Samoa in 1965, Nauru in 1969, and Fiji in 1971. Tonga was not a member but participated in Commission activities as an invited associate. During the 1950s the Commission held periodic conferences of the representative nations every two or three years. In 1960-61 they scheduled the Fifth South-Pacific Conference for Pago Pago in July 1962. The U.S. Department of the Interior therefore faced the prospect of having distinguished and critical political visitors observing the welfare of Samoan islanders first hand. So the Department hastened the construction of proper hotel facilities, the paving of the main road, and the refurbishing of other visible evidence of the islands' social and economic condition.

All of these forces awakened the sensibilities of leaders in Washington to the fact that for more than a decade they had been furnishing billions of dollars to developing nations to improve social conditions while, at the same time, overlooking the plight of their own South Seas possession. But the most important step in determining the new form that American Samoa's educational system would assume in the 1960s was the appointment in 1961 of

H. Rex Lee as governor of the territory. Before his appointment he had been an official in the Department of Interior's Indian Affairs Service. He was also a Mormon with strong convictions about what should be done to improve life in Samoa. Coupled with these convictions was a skill for convincing congressional leaders and Interior Department officials that they should put up the milllions of dollars needed to finance the massive changes he had in mind.

With the aid of Naval engineers and technicians from Pearl Harbor, the island government in late 1961 and early 1962 hurriedly completed a variety of projects in time for the Fifth South-Pacific Conference. These included a 9,000-foot jet airport runway, a Polynesian-style civic auditorium, a new electric power plant, a paved highway linking the airport to the town square on Pago Pago Bay, the renovation of many public buildings, and a general clean-up and paint-up campaign (with paints sold at cost) that found 90 percent of the buildings on the island of Tutuila newly painted by the time conference delegates arrived.[3]

However, the most important changes of all came to the public school system. In 1962 three new high schools were built and 40 new teachers were recruited from the mainland to staff them. During the 1950s the one public high school had been able to accept only one-third of the intermediate-school graduates. Now, for the first time, all intermediate-school graduates could continue into senior high school.

When Governor Lee first arrived in his new post, he was appalled at the condition of the school houses and at the poor academic and professional preparation of so many of the teachers. He believed that the fastest way to improve pupils' learning opportunities and simultaneously to upgrade the instructional skills of the existing teaching force would be to put the entire school system on a television instructional program. He invited officials from the National Association of Educational Broadcasters in Washington to study the feasibility of setting up such an instructional system. The NAEB study produced a strong recommendation for mounting transmission towers atop Mt. Alava overlooking Pago Pago Bay and from that location to telecast lessons to elementary schools throughout the islands. By the close of 1962 Congress had adopted the plan, and work was under way to bring it to pass.

At the same time a school-house construction program was laumched to consolidate small, inefficient schools that were located in adjacent villages and to replace more than 50 existing buildings with 24 modern elementary schools of concrete blocks, each school in the shape of a cluster of Samoan fales. Children no longer would sit on mats on coral-pebble floors in open primary-school fales or on benches in poorly lighted, wooden junior-high buildings. Primary pupils still sat cross-legged on mats in traditional Samoan fashion, but now their mats were on clean, modern floors and each child had a new writing desk. Green chalkboards, maps, and charts were on the walls. Bulletin boards provided space for mounting samples of pupils' work or pictures related to their studies. As the television instruction system became operative in 1964 and gradually expanded over the following years, each classroom in the elementary schools —grades 1 through 8— had two to four television receivers. By 1967 the islands' public education facilities bore no resemblance to those existing at the beginning of the decade.

Although the most dramatic innovation during the Lee administration (1961-1967) was the installation of the television instructional system, many other facets of island life commanded his attention as well. The expanded airport became a stop-over for jets between Hawaii and the South Sea islands of Fiji and New Zealand. Port facilities were improved so that the number of cargo vessels, cruise ships, and private yachts stopping in Pago Pago harbor increased over 40 percent between 1960 and 1967. The two canneries on Pago Pago Bay had multiplied their output several times over by 1967, supplied with fish caught by 4,000 fishermen in Korean, Nationalist Chinese, and Japanese tuna fleets. During this same period the dollar value of all experts grew from four to over nine million.

Improved hotel accomodations had been built for the 1962 South Pacific Commission conference. But not until 1965 was the 101-room luxury hotel at the edge of the bay completed, and tourists began to come to the islands in greater numbers.

In 1967-1968 the wooden hospital buildings of Navy times were replaced by a three-and-one-half million dollar "ranch style" hospital complex of concrete and glass. It was named the Lyndon B. Johnson Tropical Medical Center and was dedicated by President Johnson himself on a stop-over during a trip from Southeast Asia to the mainland U.S. On this same occasion in October 1967, Mrs. Johnson dedicated an elementary school that would thereafter bear the Samoan version of her name —Manulele Tausala (Lady Bird).[4]

Governor Lee was in office six years and 65 days, a longer term than that served by any of the 43 chief executives before him. For his efforts he was presented the President's Award for distinguished federal civilian service as "an imaginative and courageous administrator."[5]

In the eight-year period following Lee's resignation, three other governors held office, and each of them exerted his influence on the education system. The man who replaced Lee was Owen S. Aspinall, son of the Colorado congressman who chaired the House Interior Committee, Wayne Aspinall. The most noteworthy educational event during Aspinall's two-year tenure as governor was his sharp disagreement with the National Association of Educational Broadcasters on the way the Association was administering the TV-instructional program.[7] In early 1969 this disagreement resulted in the removal of the NAEB from further connection with Samoa's educational system.

Aspinall, a Democrat, was replaced by the Nixon administration in August 1969 with John M. Haydon, recent head of the port authority in Seattle.

Haydon had been recommended for the governorship by his friend, John D. Ehrilchman, when Erlichman was a close Nixon aide.[8] When Haydon entered office, he pledged to seek federal funds for more development programs, to improve education, to abolish the dual wage system for Samoans and outlanders, and to initiate other reforms.[9] And indeed, by the close of Haydon's term as governor five years later, many of his promises had been fulfilled. Island educators generally agreed that he had been a good friend of education. He had supported the successful application for greatly increased educational funds, the replacement of a palagi director of education with a Samoan, the improvement of salaries for Samoan educators, the elimination of the publicly-funded special school for pupils from the mainland, and greater opportunities for vocational education.

The Haydon administration, however, did not end in a happy financial state. About the time of Haydon's resignation in August 1974, the news began to seep through the Samoan community and back to Washington that the local government's economic condition was a shambles. Auditors from Washington were sent to discover the nature and extent of the problem. Their task did not prove easy. The investigation continued well into 1975 as the long-time lieutenant governor, Frank Mockler, held the unsteady reins of government from mid-1974 until January 1975 when a new governor, Earl Baker Ruth, was appointed.

Governor Ruth was a 58-year-old former athletic director from Catawba College in North Carolina, where he had served more than 20 years before being elected to Congress in 1968. He was a North Carolina Republican member of the House of Representatives in Washington until defeated by a Democrat in 1974. Therefore, by 1975 he was available for an appointment to a territorial governorship. It became Ruth's task and that of his aides from Washington to untangle the islands' financial snarl. Their approach involved two major steps: (1) discovering the extent and causes of the problem and (2) instituting measures that would ensure that the government would bring its expenditures in far better balance with its current income.

Auditors throughout 1975 learned that they could hope for only partial success with the first of their tasks. The extent of misspent funds or of inadequate budgeting procedures could be estimated in only a gross way. Some guessed it had been a high as $18 million, a figure later lowered to around $10 million. The causes apparently had been a combination of ineptitude and conscious misappropriation of funds, with the blame placed on both palagi and Samoan employees in the island government. When various government departments were singled out in the investigation, the Department of Education came off rather well. Department personnel were not charged with any serious misuse of funds as were employees in certain other divisions fo the government, though poor budgeting practices were identified in some instances, such as in the purchase of the Mormons' Mapusaga high-school property for use as the new Community College campus.

The second step taken by Governor Ruth's staff to reduce expenditures affected the Department of Education in a fashion that markedly diminished its staff, its consultants, its instructional materials, and the morale of its personnel. Each government department was ordered in early 1975 to reduce its current budget, and for the Department of Education this meant:

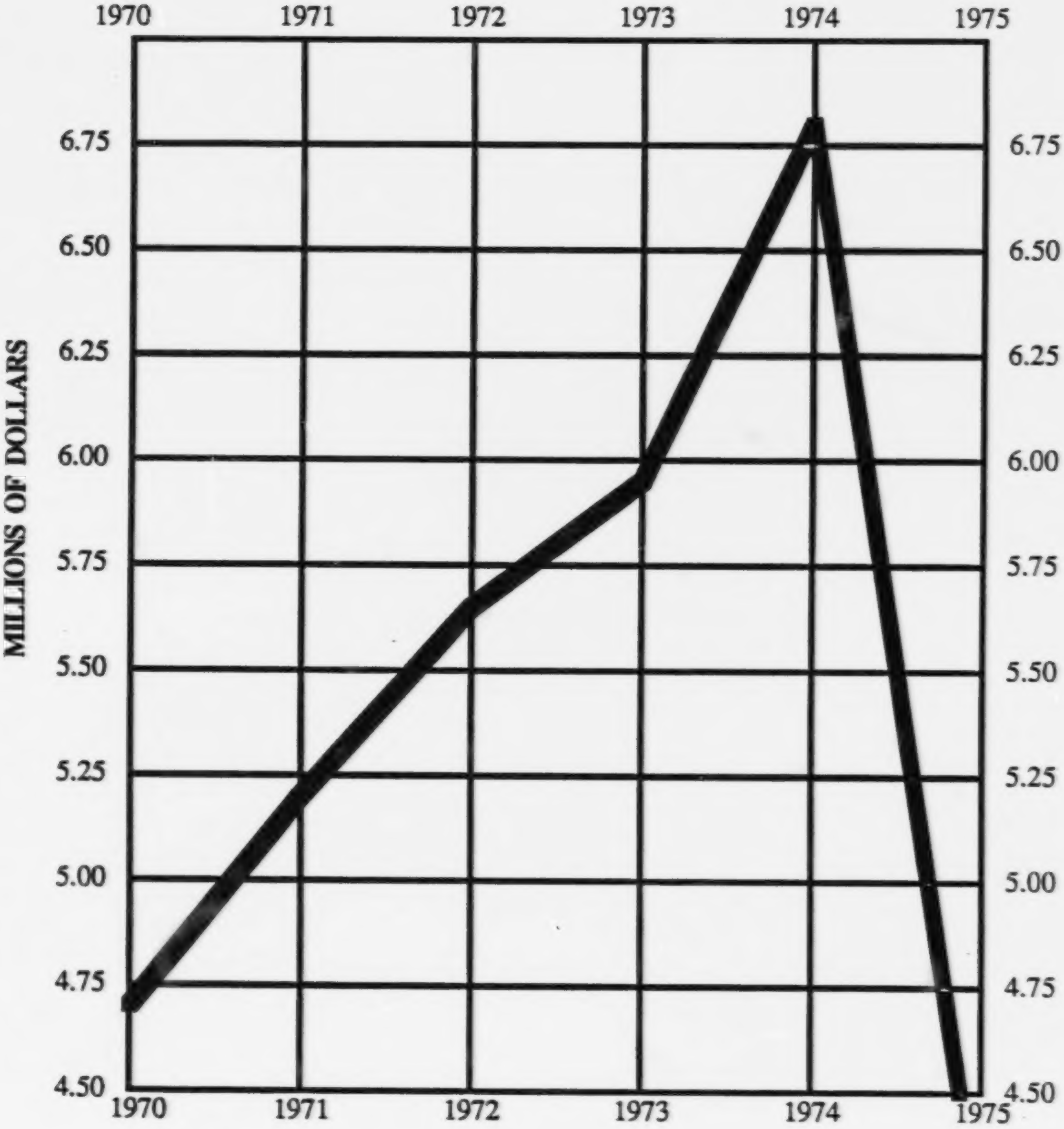
> cutting the budget almost in half, reducing the number of [television] channels in use from six to three, and bringing about the dismissal of much of the staff. In the process, control of the [television] station, together with its budget and administration, was formally removed from the Department of Education to a new office reporting directly to the governor.[10]

Thus it was that the accelerating growth of expenditures and the rapid expansion of educational services which had begun with the Lee administration in 1962 and extended through the Haydon government in mid-1974 jolted to a halt in late 1974 and turned abruptly in reverse in 1975. Financial belt-tightening and reduced educational programs marked the first year of Governor Ruth's time in office. The rapid increase in the Department's budget over the 1970-1974 period is indicated in Figure 5-1, with a drop-off of between one-third and one-half occurring in 1975.

In overview, then, the 1961-1975 period saw great changes in American Samoa. Of those changes, the ones in the field of education were the most dramatic and likely the most significant from the standpoint of ultimate effect on Samoan society. In the foregoing paragraphs I have traced some of the principal lines of development under four governors and seven directors of education. It is now my purpose to analyze the educational developments of this era in more detail. The analysis is presented in six parts that concern: (1) the expansion of educational opportunity, ((2) changes in teaching methodology, (3) shifting curriculum patterns, (4) staffing the education system, (5) students —their characteristics and problems— and (6) the role of private schools.

Figure 5-1

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT EXPENDITURES --1970-1974 [17]



THE EXPANSION OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

One of the most remarkable accomplishments of the education system during the 1960s and 1970s was the extension of educational opportunities in a variety of directions. Although by 1960 nearly all children of elementary-school age attended school, a large percentage of the islands' teen-agers did not go on to high school. However, this shortcoming was corrected in the 1960s with the addition of both public and private high schools which made the goal of universal education from ages 6 through 18 nearly a reality. By 1968 about 90 percent of American Samoa's youths completed senior high school.[12] By 1975 this percentage was even higher.

Table 5-1

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT —1960-1974 [13]

	1960	1965	1970	1974
Elementary (Grades 1-8)				
Public Schools	4,361	5,447	5,697	5,895
Private Schools	1,146	1,268		
Total	5,507	6,715		
Secondary (Grades 10-12)				
Public Schools	776	1,559	1,756	2,088
Private Schools	207	220		
Total	983	1,779		

The increase in secondary-school facilities to accommodate all normal high-school-age youth was an important step toward broadening schooling opportunities. However, it did not compare in significance to the impact on life in the islands that resulted from four other sorts of expansion. These were the establishment of the territory-wide early-childhood-education centers, the opening of the Community College of American Samoa, the provision of special-education services for the handicapped, and the telecasting of programs that could be received by the islands' out-of-school adult population. In the following pages I describe each of these innovations in some detail in order to identify the way each developed and the extent of its influence.

The Early Childhood Education Centers. Prior to 1969 there were no kindergartens or nursery schools for Samoan children. In May 1968 a pilot nursery-school program was tried out in one village to determine whether Samoan children would perform preschool activities as readily as did children on the U.S. mainland. The tryout was deemed an immediate success, so a four-week summer workshop in preschool education was set up for inservice elementary-school teachers who might guide —or at least morally support— an envisaged early childhood education program for the villages of the islands. Subsequently, parent volunteers were trained in similar workshops to serve as teachers in early childhood centers, and the program was on its way.

By September 1969 there were 40 centers opened in villages throughout the islands, operating on a split-week schedule, with children ages four and five attending on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, while younger children came on Tuesday and Thursday. However, this split-week schedule proved unsatisfactory, because on their off-days children clustered around the open Samoan house —the fale — wanting to take part in the program. Thus, in March 1970 there were 45 more centers added to serve additional villages and to eliminate the split-week schedule. Still, because of the large numbers of children who came, 45 of the existing 85 centers continued to operate on a divided week. In January 1971 another 50 centers were set up, bringing the total to 135 with an enrollment of 2,700 children between ages three and five. By 1974 the number of centers was 160 in 64 villages.

In addition to the village preschool sessions conducted in Samoan fales, the project included a twice-daily televised program in Samoan language designed specifically for island children. The program, Talofa Tamaiti (Hello, Children), began in January 1969 and continued in videotaped versions over the following years. The program's setting was a Samoan fale, with the program content drawn from people, animals, plants, and activities familiar in village life. Dozens of songs, stories, and rhymes composed by the Samoan staff initiated the development of a modern children's literature in the local language.

News of the success of this early childhood venture spread in the 1970s to the U.S. mainland and throughout the Pacific so that periodically educators from the U.S. Trust Territory in the Western Pacific and from other island areas were brought to American Samoa to learn how the system worked so well on such modest financing.

In short, within less than a decade, opportunities for organized daily educational experiences had been extended to nearly all of the islands' chidldren between ages three and five. And even two-year-olds who watched Talofa Tamaiti telecasts or who clustered around the nursery-school fale during school hours were participating in the program in a limited way.

The two initiators of the early childhood project, who were the program's motivating force during the 1968-1975 period, were Dr. Betty Johnston and Iutita Savali. Dr. Johnston was the wife of a retired Arizona banker, Mundey Johnston, who was invited by Governor Lee to act as economic advisor to the Government of American Samoa in 1967. When the Johnstons arrived in the islands and the governor learned that Mrs. Johnston had been a professor of early childhood education at the University of Arizona, he asked her whether she could establish a preschool-education program suitable for young children in Samoa. He furnished $75,000 to fund the early stages of the project.

As a Samoan counterpart in this effort, Dr. Johnston solicited the aid of Mrs. Iutita Savali, who was currently the assistant principal and curriculum director for the Leone and Pago Pago Consolidated Schools. Both women had extensive backgrounds of experience in the education of young children. Mrs. Johnston's doctoral studies at the University of California, Los Angeles, had been in early childhood education, following her earlier academic training in child devleopment at Iowa State University, Merrill-Palmer Institute, Columbia University, and Bank Street College. She had directed nursery schools and had taught early childhood teachers for more than 30 years. Mrs. Savali, a 1952 graduate of Samoana High School, had earned a bachelor degree from the National College of Education in Evanston, Illinois, and since graduating had taught in the schools of American Samoa.

According to the two women's initial plan, the early childhood program would recruit mothers and fathers to be trained as teachers and as teacher aides for the nursery-school centers. The villagers would be asked to contribute the use of a fale for three hours each weekday morning. Rather than purchase equipment from the U.S. mainland, the staff planned to have most learning materials collected or constructed in Samoa to fit both the available budget and the Samoan setting. Each center would receive a set of basic materials stored in a large wooden cabinet —four feet wide and five feet high— that was painted red. Throughout the islands this cabinet, standing at one end of an open fale, identified the village's early childhood center. Each cabinet included:

> Five hundred building blocks stacked by size; small wooden animals and people of Samoa; Polynesian-like cloth dolls, dressed in Samoan garb; sea shells for doll dishes; fau bark for stringing seeds, flowers, and shells for ula or necklaces; crayons, paste, scissors, and paper; printed photograph books of animals, people, and village activities (books prepared by the early-childhood staff); such percussion instruments as coconut shells and hollowed stick drums; balls made of rubber and of coconut fronds; "bean" bags filled with small shells; and a wide variety of teacher-collected materials for creative invention or for learning games.[14]

To open the project, Dr. Johnston and Mrs. Savali had sought immediate widespread acceptance of the scheme by broadcasting over television and radio a description of their plan. The participants in the program, in addition to the two authors of the project, included the Samoan district governors and high chiefs. This assured the listening audience that the plan was endorsed by the traditional Samoan leaders as well as by the Department of Education. During the broadcast, mothers and fathers interested in being trained as teachers for the preschool centers were asked to submit their applications. As a result, over 200 parents came to the early childhood office to apply.

Over the following years the teacher-education program consisted of a 10- to 15-week training session for new teachers, plus a two-week session prior to the opening of school each year. Throughout the school year three-hour inservice meetings were held twice a month for all teachers, and supervisors who visited the centers regularly conducted individual conferences with teachers during the visits.

The teacher-training sessions involved almost no lecturing. Rather, they consisted of candidates observing a master teacher work with a beginning group of children, of observing and discussing special television tapes, of assisting teachers in village early-childhood centers, and of participating in workshops for making learning materials. The long-term training sessions began the summer of 1969 with 100 parents participating, 40 of whom were chosen to open the first 40 village centers. In each session, a substantially larger number of parents were enrolled than could be accommodated in the existing centers. This abundant supply permitted the appointment of the most apt and interested as teachers, and it furnished a back-log of teachers to substitute for ones who dropped out during the school year for maternity leave, for trips to the U.S. mainland, or for other personal reasons.

In summary, over the 1969-1975 period, schooling opportunities in American Samoa were extended downward from the elementary grades to include nearly all children between ages three and five. In addition, several hundred men and women were prepared for guiding young children's intellectual, emotional, and physical development.

The Community College of American Samoa. For years Samoan youths who wished to attend college had to travel abroad, usually to the U.S. mainland or to Hawaii. But at the beginning of the 1970s the long-discussed opportunity to enroll in a college program in Samoa was realized.

The Community College of American Samoa, modeled after junior colleges on the U.S. mainland, received its first cohort of students in summer-session classes on July 1, 1970. To head the institution, an experienced vocational educator from Hawaii, David Lynn, was appointed as its organizer and director, a post he held until his retirement in mid-1975.

From the beginning, the college adopted an open-door admission policy. Anyone over age 18 who could profit from the programs of the college was welcome to enroll. In order to serve a variety of adult-education needs, the college offered four major types of programs that were aimed at: (1) two-year preparation for further college study abroad, (2) general education, (3) vocational and technical education, and (4) continuing education for adults.

In terms of programs and students, the college already had a running start when it opened, for the existing Feleti Teachers Training Course and the territorial hospital's long-existing nurses' training course were integrated into the college structure, as were several vocational-training classes. Gradually over the years more general education and university-preparatory courses were added to the offerings so that the enrollment rapidly increased to 1,000 students per semester by 1974. Even though the College operated on an open-door policy for many of its offerings, enrollment in certain programs was restricted. For example, students planning to continue their education in overseas universities and colleges were required to meet specified entrance requirements. As a result, in 1974 there were 25 of the College's graduates accepted as transfer students in four-year institutions in the States.

To staff the College, its director tapped two sources of faculty members. As the first source, each year several junior-college teachers were imported from the mainland. And as a second source, many people already living in the islands were hired to teach part-time in areas in which they had particular expertise. "The instructional staff is not restricted to those holding advanced derees or teaching certificates from schools of education. Teachers have been recruited on the basis of skills and talents as diverse as those of the students."[15]

During its first four years, the Community College was located at Utulei behind Samoana High School on Pago Pago Bay, housed in an aged two-story frame building left over from Navy days. Then, when the Church of Latter Day Saints in mid-1974 discontinued operating its private high school at Mapusaga in the western sector of Tutuila, the government leased the modern Mapusaga campus as the new home of the Community College. Therefore, by 1975 the College was a well established instituion, installed in suitable quarters and offering a growing variety of courses to an expanding clientele.

Special Education. The islands' first publicly supported special-education program began in 1971 with services for the deaf, hard of hearing, speech impaired, and hospital bound. At its inception it had a staff of seven who cared for seven full-time and 35 part-time students. As the program grew over the following years, the types of services were expanded, with a strong effort exerted to keep the handicapped in regular classrooms where they could receive special help but still be with their nonhandicapped agemates.

By 1975 the special-education division of the Department of Education was organized into seven major project areas.[16] First was the "Resource System," organized to implement an island-wide effort identifying handicapped children and assessing their needs. Diagnostic tests of basic reading, arithmetic, and language skills were developed and used with children who were suspected of suffering learning difficulties.

Second was a speech and hearing project, staffed by two specialists who provided speech therapy for over 50 children each year. Three elementary schools each operated a special classroom for the deaf, and the hard-of-hearing were provided with hearing aids.

Third, for the physically or mentally handicapped who could not learn adequately in regular elementary-school classes, even with special aid, two special classes were created, and home tutoring was provided for several who were multihandicapped or blind. A fourth project consisted of a small on-the-job vocational class for high-school-age students at Taputimu Farm.

The fifth project focused on individualizing instruction for all students, but especially for ones with learning problems. It was conducted in regular classrooms in four schools' primary grades and involved over 30 teachers and more than 700 children. A sixth project provided instruction for hospitalized children, and a seventh consisted of courses at the Special Education Instructional Materials Center to train teachers in how to create and use materials suitable for children with learning problems.

So it was that the early 1970s witnessed the inauguration and rapid expansion of systematic special education services for the islands' handicapped pupils.

The Impact of Night-Time Television. Prior to the mid-1960s, the main activities available to Samoan children in the late afternoon and early evening were those of helping with family chores, playing with friends, and attending the village pastor's school. The principal pastimes for older youths and adults in the evening were chatting with friends, going fishing, finishing up work around the home, attending vesper services in the home or prayer meetings in the church, holding occasional parties, or attending the movies. However, for people who did not live near the main road on Tutuila, the movie option was not available.

The advent of educational television changed this. The first TV receivers were located only in the schools. But as the years passed, the more affluent families in villages where electricity was available purchased receivers of their own. As a result, the visitor passing along the road at night would be greeted by the curious sight of a square blueish light shining from the darkness of a western-style Samoan home or a traditional Samoan fale —the light of a television screen being watched intently by the family and neighboring friends.

Over the decade 1965-1975 the territorial government used six television channels for classroom broadcasts during school hours, then dedicated two of the channels to public broadcasting beginning at 4:30 in the afternoon until 10:00 or later in the evening. The late-afternoon fare was designed for an audience of children, with programming made up mostly of series imported from the U.S. mainland educational-television network —such programs as Sesame Street, Misterogers' Neighborhood, What's New, and The Electric Company. In the late 1960s the night-time offerings included local news in English and Samoan, local interview shows, and informational and entertainment programs selected from U.S. mainland networks.

In the early days of the television system, those in charge of evening programming chose material from the mainland to illustrate desirable social attitudes as well as to entertain. The series entitled *I Spy* was selected as representing good racial relations, since the pair of heroes in the drama were one black and one white undercover agent. The *Bonanza* series was chosen to illustrate close family ties, and *Wagon Train* pictured people working together to overcome adversity. The *Twentieth Century* offered historical information, and *Walt Disney Presents* furnished a variety of wholesome family entertainment. Before any of these imported commercial programs were telecast in the islands, the advertisements that normally would interrupt the dramas were deleted, since broadcasting in the islands was solely a government venture intended to improve Samoans' command of English and their general education.

However, as the 1970s progressed, night-time broadcasting assumed a different cast. Programs were not selected from a variety of mainland networks to represent social virtues. Instead, the National Broadcasting Company schedule out of San Francisco was adopted to a great extent, and the adverisements for beer, razor blades, and cars were left in, ostensibly because it was too much trouble for the local station engineers to black them out. There was also talk during Governor Haydon's administration that night-time TV would become a commercial operation under the NBC network. However, objections from the community apparently postponed any official arrangement of this sort. In any event, by the mid-1970s night-time television in Samoa was hardly distinguishable from network night-time TV on the mainland. Among the most popular programs among Samoans were professional wrestling, boxing, and American football —all sports appealing to Samoans' interest and skill in rough physical endeavors.

What, then, was the effect of this evening programming on life in Samoa? In an attempt to answer this question, the local television station in 1976 commissioned an audience survey of 702 representative viewers and learned that their program preferences were similar to ones in Hawaii and on the mainland. The NBC channel had most of the audience (about 79 percent), with the educational channel (using mostly Public Broadcasting System offerings) drawing the remaining 21 percent.

> A full 87 percent of the people sampled not only watched television at one given hour, an unheard-of-audience on the mainland, but watched the same show. And...U.S. daytime game shows and serials were shown in the early evening and had a far wider viewership than in the States.... The general pattern of viewing one deduces from the survey is that in Samoa most viewers (in December 1976) turned on the commercial network channel and left it on. When they broke out of this pattern, it was usually for Samoan programs, and the most-watched of these was the news in Samoan. The three most-watched programs on the PBS channel were all in the Samoan language. The viewers of Samoan programs, as might be expected, tended to be older than those who watched the English programs, and the difference was especially notable among the fifty and over age group.[17]

In an attempt to estimate the effect on Samoan youths of both the at-school and at-home exposure to television, Schramm, Nelson, and Betham conducted an attitude survey among twelfth-grade students in 1977 and compared the results with a similar study by Baldauf in 1972. The results of the comparison suggested that Samoan youths over that period of time were: (1) becoming less conservative, (2) valuing success less, (3) becoming more independent, (4) becoming more competitive, (5) feeling less respect for authority, and (6) ascribing less importance to the family. However, the authors proposed that such trends deserved to be interpreted with caution:

> This [survey] suggests the impact of Western culture on a traditional culture. But it must be taken in context. Even though the family had lost some of its importance, it was still very important in 1977 (to 76 percent in Western Samoa, 64 percent in American Samoa). Even though young people were becoming less convervative, they were still quite conservative (74 percent for Western Samoa, 60 percent for American Samoa). Even though they valued success somewhat less, more than 80 percent, on the average, valued it highly. Even though the work ethic seemed under attack, still about three-fourths of all the young people held to it.... And therefore the changes we have reported were all relative changes. The resilient Samoan culture has long proved its ability to absorb outside influences and come to terms with them.[18]

In summary, the question of whether the broadened view of non-Samoan culture that was provided by both television and the other intruders from the western world was being bought at a price of undesirable, harmful alienation from Samoans' own traditions and of greater personal maladjustment for young people remains a debatable issue. In any case, the deed had been done and the result was irreversible. Life in Samoa would never again be the same as before the days of television.

TELEVISION'S INSTRUCTIONAL ROLES

Up to this point we have been concerned with the general structure of the educational television system and the reasons for its installation, but we have not explained exactly how TV fitted into classroom instruction. This is the development we next review: (1) the place of television in the original plan supervised by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters and (2) the way the plan was altered under subsequent governors and directors of education.

The instructional scheme that became famous world-wide in the latter 1960s was described by its creators as "a cooperative system of instruction making maximum use of television."[19] The construction of this system had been regarded by Governor Lee in 1961 as the better of two options for remedying the sad condition of education as he found it on his arrival. The other option would have been to hire enough teachers on the mainland to replace nearly all of the Samoans who staffed the schools in 1961.

However, such a move would have been very expensive, it would have filled the islands' classrooms with palagis who understood little if any Samoan culture and language, and it would have greatly reduced the chance that Samoans would become adequately prepared to staff their own schools in the near future.

When the National Association of Educational Broadcasters studied the condition of Samoan schools in the early 1960s, the association proposed the installation of a television-instruction system that would correct the shortcomngs of the existing school system. The shortcomings, according to the NAEB report, included:

> A failure to successfully teach the fundamental skills.
> A method of teaching English based on class drill and rote memory having no structural foundation.
> A method of instruction emphasizing memorization with little attention given to the development of meaning....
> A lack of appropriate instructional materials.
> A prevalence of poorly-educated and unprepared Samoan teachers.
> Inadequate supervision of instruction, and ineffective inservice teacher training programs.[20]

To implement the plan, Governor Lee not only obtained two million dollars from Congress to erect new school buildings but also an additional 1.583 million to construct studios, place a transmitter atop M. Alava, equip schools for receiving televised lessons, and staff the enterprise.

The telecasting of lessons to elementary schools began in 1964. By 1965 a full slate of lessons in all elementary-school subjects was broadcast along with lessons in several secondary-school fields. In order to staff this complex teaching system, the Department of Education supplemented the existing corps of Samoan teachers with dozens of stateside school principals, television producer-directors, curriculum specialists, cameramen, television-broadcast teachers, electronics engineers and technicians, artists, photographers, and the like.

By the latter 1960s the "cooperative instructional system" was operating daily in the following manner. As in most American communities, the typical school day was divided into a sequence of periods, each devoted to the study of a different subject. However, in Samoa the classroom teachers did not plan and present the lessons. Instead, the initial 10 or 20 minutes of nearly every lesson were presented to pupils as a telecast transmitted to all schools simultaneously from central studios at the Department of Education's headquarters at Utulei on Pago Pago Bay. After the telecast introduced the basic concepts of the lesson, the regular classroom teacher followed up with reinforcing activities that had been planned at the central studios to support that particular lesson. These activities usually consisted of worksheets to complete, questions to discuss, or experiments to perform. Thus, the Samoan classroom teacher functioned as an aide to the television teachers rather than as a creator of lessons. The principal of each school, who in the 1960s was usually an experienced elementary-school educator from the U.S. mainland, was assigned to help classroom teachers conduct the reinforcing activities, understand children's learning difficulties, and inform the studio staff of strengths and weaknesses of the telecasts.

At the central studios a large collection of specialists were responsible for curriculum design, for preparing daily videotapes of lessons at each grade level, and for shipping to schools the mimeographed copies of future lessons and follow-up activities. At the heart of this instructional team was a corps of selected classroom teachers, predominantly ones from the mainland. Each was placed in the role of a television teacher. Every television teacher was responsible for planning and presenting on videotapes a daily lesson in a subject-matter field (language arts, mathematics, social studies, science, art) for a given grade level or for several different grade levels.

Aiding the television teacher were other members of the "instructional team": research teacher (a subject-matter specialist responsible for locating needed materials and preparing follow-up activities for use in the classrooms), television producer-director, supervisor of television production, research librarian, artist, photographer to produce motion pictures and still photographs to illustrate concepts in telecast lessons, and engineering staff members. Each of these teams prepared videotapes to broadcast over six television channels to the territory's schools.

This instructional system became fully operational in only the first eight elementary-school grades. At the high-school level it was used for just a few courses. There were several reasons for the limited application of television in secondary schools. First, the people who were in control of the television system placed their initial emphasis on the elementary grades, with the idea that it was important to furnish children a good learning foundation in the lower grades before they could be expected to succeed well in high school. Second, in contrast to the elementary schools, the secondary classrooms were staffed mostly by palagi teachers from the States who preferred to teach their classes in the traditional way. Third, there was a greater variety of courses in the high schools than in the elementary grades, and fewer students were enrolled in each class, so that a greater diversity of televised lessons would be needed to serve smaller groups of learners.

The new TV-instruction staff found that operating the television system was an expensive and vexing task. Each lesson required many hours of careful preparation by the instructional team if it was to be paced properly for the learners and was to be richly illustrated with pictures, demonstrations, and follow-up classroom activities. But, theoretically at least, once a good program was videotaped, it could be used for future classes of pupils in the coming years. In other words, money and time spent on lessons today would save money and time in the future. However, the system, as it developed in the latter 1960s, did not work that way.

With few exceptions, each lesson was erased from the tape after it was used. The following year the lesson had to be created anew. This was because the TV-instructional plan was being introduced at all levels of the elementary school simultaneously. For instance, the first year that the system was used with fourth-grade pupils, those pupils needed rather simple lessons, since they had achieved such a poor level of English-language skill during their previous three years of schooling under the old instructional system. However, next year's fourth graders, who by then had experienced a year of TV-instruction while in third grade, could be expected to need more advanced lessons than this year's fourth graders because next year's cohort of pupils would have better command of English. Thus, each year until the TV-instructional plan had been operating for several years, the lessons for a given grade level would need to be newly constructed. Few if any could be saved for reuse. Under such a system, the television teams found themselves in a constant harried state as they attempted to produce 150 to 200 new television shows every week.

During these early years of instructional TV, the American Samoan experiment gained international attention through educational journals, newspapers, magazines, foreign television, and speeches given by educators at international conferences. An increasing number of educators from various nations stopped by Pago Pago on their travels through the Pacific to see the world's only elementary-school system that used televised lessons as the center of all classroom teaching. Many of the world's developing nations regarded such a system as a way to solve their problems of offering education to the masses of their citizens —education that provided everyone with high-quality lessons and simultaneously upgraded the skills of classroom instructors.[21]

At the same time that instructional television was being praised abroad as a panacea for the problems of mass education, at home in American Samoa the system was under criticism from several quarters.

One quarter was that of professional educators from the U.S. mainland who were assigned on study missions to assess the effectiveness of this technological departure in education.[22] While the assessors found evidence of improved English-language skills among the students, they also pointed out several flaws in the plan. The four most serious criticisms at the elementary-school level were:

(1) That television-centered instruction failed to accommodate for the individual differences among children in their learning rates and styles. If a girl did not grasp yesterday's lesson adequately, she could not review the lesson in a different manner today in order to master it. Rather, the television lessons strode relentlessly by, day after day, despite the pace at which children were able to learn the material. So the slow learners got farther and farther behind, and the fast learners had to take the lessons at the steady rate, even though they were prepared to learn material that would be offered at a more rapid pace.

(2) That the system of evaluating both pupil progress and the quality of television lessons was inadequate. It is true that teachers were furnished questionnaires to fill out in order to reflect their reactions to televised lessons, but the use of these sheets was not very systematic. Many teachers did not take the time to complete the questionnaires. Oftentimes sheets that were filled out never were returned to the television teachers back at the central studios. Furthermore, television teachers often paid little or no attention to the evaluations. Some television teachers visited classrooms at the times their tapes were being broadcast, and such visits helped them see how the lessons were received by the students. But such visits were rare, since the television teachers worked on such a tight schedule for preparing new tapes. And until the early 1970s, there was no regular, systematic program of testing what pupils actually were learning in the television instructional system.

(3) That televised lessons were often so hastily prepared that their quality was poor. As one Samoan educator observed, "A dull lecture given by a boring classroom instructor does not become a meaningful learning experience just because it is telecast into many classrooms. The television camera cannot make bad teaching into good teaching." In effect, the desire of the television teams to create each lesson anew and not save tapes from the past operated to reduce the quality of lessons.

Many of the lessons, however, were prepared by talented instructors and included far more useful visual aids —photographs, film segments, real-life materials— than classroom teachers would usually provide. These lessons, without question, were of higher quality than were typical lessons taught by poorly prepared teachers in the classrooms of the past. In sum, the quality of televised lessons was quite mixed —some lessons good, others poor.

(4) That the inservice teacher-education scheme was inadequate, both in the ways it sought to improve teachers' skills and in the attitudes it engendered among Samoan teachers. The formulators of the television instructional scheme had envisioned the demonstration of daily televised lessons as the basic technique for upgrading Samoan teachers' professional skills. The Samoan classroom teachers would observe "real experts" presenting lessons on television and then would themselves direct children in completing the planned follow-up activities of the lessons after the videotaped segment had been completed. The elementary-school principals, who were experienced personnel from U.S. mainland schools, would supervise the Samoans, providing them constant, on-the-spot inservice education. By the latter 1960s, outside obervers of the system concluded that many of the lessons seen on television were indeed good "presentations" of subject-matter, and the follow-up learning activities were often valuable. It seemed likely that Samoan teachers would profit from these models. However, the Samoan teachers were actually being relegated to the permanent role of assistant to the teacher. They were not teachers in the sense of someone creating and presenting learning activities, of diagnosing individual children's learning problems, and of fashioning learning

experiences that would solve these problems. Complaints by teachers suggested that they felt demoted from the positions they had held in Samoan society before the advent of television. It was once more a case of the palagis assuming the colonial role of leader, and the Samoans placed in the role of the follower who was not expected to create learning activities but simply to do the bidding of the leader.

In addition to the foregoing criticisms leveled at the new instructional system by outside evaluators, there were complaints as well from the Samoan community itself. Perhaps the most difficult question that Samoans posed for the mainlanders who operated the television system was: "If TV teaching is so good, why don't you use it for your own children who attend Fia Iloa School? Why do you have regular classroom teachers in Fia Iloa and no television, but you give Samoans television?" And, indeed, the English-language school designed for children from the mainland never did employ television. Furthermore, the respected Marist Brothers schools used television only as a supplement to traditional classroom teaching and only in the field of English conversation. This practice caused Samoan business and political leaders —most of whom were Marist graduates— to ask why the palagi Catholic brothers did not depend on television in all of their classes if it was so effective.

Therefore, in its first four or five years of operation, the "cooperative instructional system making maximum use of television" was both lauded and criticized. But the National Association of Educational Broadcasters and their supporters in the Samoan education system adamantly resisted any attempts to alter the scheme's original design until it had run through at least one complete cycle. They conceived one cycle to be a period of 15 years —three years for the system to get started and 12 years for the first cohort of children to move from grades 1 through 12 as complete products of television instruction. In other words, a fair assessment of the system could not be made until 1977 or 1978, since the initial construction of the system had begun in 1962-1963.[23] During that 15-year period there was to be no tinkering with the plan by individuals within the educational structure: "The plan of instruction in the system is such that it can tolerate no 'mavericks' or any tangential activities, whether in the classroom, in the studio, or in supervision."[24]

However, in late 1968, after Lee retired as governor and Aspinall took over, the first major crack in the master plan occurred. It came in the form of a conflict between the NAEB formulator of the system, Vernon Bronson, and Governor Aspinall —two strong-willed men who disagreed with each other on some details of the conduct of the educational enterprise. The upshot of the conflict was that the governor told Bronson he did not want him back in the islands, the NAEB sent complaints to key federal government officials in Washington about Aspinall's administration in Samoa, and the issues became the subject of a day-long hearing before the Congressional House Committee on Samoan Affairs in early 1969. In the conflict, the then Director of Education for American Samoa, Roy D. Cobb, sided with the NAEB. Subsequently, Cobb left the directorship and departed from Samoa with his wife, Mildred Cobb, who had been brought from a Kentucky television station in 1963-1964 to head curriculum development for the new Samoan system.

During 1969 and through the first half of 1970 the television system continued to operate in its basic form, but the direction it might take in the future was not at all clear, since the NAEB had left Samoa along with Cobb and his wife, and Aspinall the Democrat had been replaced by Haydon the Republican as governor under the new Nixon administration. However, by late 1970 the new director of education who would guide the Department's development for the next three years had been appointed. He was Milton deMello, who brought from his district superintendency in Hawaii a strong commitment to individualizing instruction to suit each pupil's needs. Over the coming years the consulting roles filled by the NAEB were assigned to a variety of off-island institutions —the University of Hawaii, the Northwest Regional Research and Development Laboratory in Oregon, the University of California at Santa Barbara, Stanford University, and others.

During deMello's first year in office, symptoms of malfunction in the television instructional system continued to arise so that in October 1971 he formed a "task force" with representatives from all aspects of the islands' educational establishment to consider the role instructional television might effectively play in the territory's current and future life. Dr. Wilbur Schramm, a nationally recognized expert in educational television from Stanford University, served as a consultant to the task force. In May 1972 the group submitted its report. In essence, the report recommended that the basic planning for the curriculum and suggestions for teaching methodology should still come from the central Department of Education. And television should:

> ...continue to be used as one of several instructional tools, but its role in providing the core of instruction should be diminished. Consequently, the number of telecasts in most instructional programs should be reduced, with TV used when it provides the best means of effecting learning.... Special consideration should be given to creating conditions which allow greater teacher, pupil, principal, and supervisory participation in the planning of instruction and even in the production of instructional materials.[25]

News of this task-force report and of its acceptance by deMello and Governor Haydon stimulated the Secretary of the Interior in Washington to write to the governor, expressing fear that reducing the use of television in the islands might bring complaints from a Congress that had put so much money and hope into the system over the past decade. The issue was finally resolved in favor of relegating television to a new role in the islands' instructional program —that of a tool to supplement the classroom teacher's organization of learning activities. No longer would the telecast be in charge of the learning program, with the classroom teacher functioning as an aide to the televised lessons. Rather, the classroom teacher, guided by curriculum outlines from the central Department, would be in charge of instruction, and television would become a learning aid along with books, field trips, charts, audio recordings, and the like.

In recalling this time of decision, deMello later wrote that:

> Many took reassessment of the role of ITV in 1972 as a repudiation of the program instituted in 1964. This was not the case. It was a matter of looking at the scene eight years later and capitalizing on all the positive things ITV (instructional television) had wrought, while keeping it in perspective. However, in order to do this one had to take into account those changes, cognitive as well as affective, and their implications. Therefore, the motivation in 1972 was the same as in 1964, a desire to use ITV rightfully, as a powerful, meaningful educational tool, one of many resources to provide the best program possible for each student in the Samoan environment.[26]

Consequently, in the following years teachers were no longer required to use the televised programs. They had the option of deciding when their class would tune in to a program and when it would not. The high-school telecasts, which in many cases in the past had not been very successful, were eliminated for most courses. A few, such as Chief Sua's lectures on Samoan culture for ninth graders, were continued. In the elementary grades many of the programs in English language, social studies, art, and mathematics were retained and were consistently used by most teachers. The science telecasts that had been a prominent feature of the televised instruction plan in the 1960s and early 1970s were gradually dropped in favor of an importd program of classroom science experiments conducted by the children themselves.

An important source of pressure to diminish the role of television in the 1970s was budgetary. As electronic equipment in the tropics deteriorated, new funds had to be provided to replace the equipment. As more Samoan families bought television receivers, the legislature exerted its influence to improve the evening entertainment offerings, and this meant that money for educational television would be diverted into increasing the evening broadcasts. When the financial cirsis of 1974-1975 hit the education system, a significant portion of the TV production staff was dismissed so that the Department of Education's expenditures might better match its decreased income. This action reduced the quantity and quality of telecasts.

In summary, then, the instructional television system as envisioned at its beginning in 1962-1963 never did complete a cycle of 15 years in its original form. The first regular telecasts to elementary-school classrooms began in 1964. Within less than five years the NAEB, which had formulated the plan, was no longer connected with the Samoan project. New governors and new directors of education had encouraged a reevaluation of the original plan, and the reevaluation in 1972 relegated the telecast to a supplementary rather than core position in instruction. By 1975 the classroom teacher again carried the main responsibility for deciding what methods and teaching tools were best for the children in that class —and television was now a support tool, albeit still a very important one at the elementary-school level.

In mid-1968 Chief Nikolao I. Pula —assistant director of education under Cobb and later the first Samoan director — had said that, "A box cannot take the place of an experienced teacher. But our lack of well prepared teachers has made it necessary for us to turn to TV for the central core of instruction. When we have college trained teachers for all classrooms, TV can become supportive and supplementary to the teacher, who will be the center of learning once more."[27] By the mid-1970s, even without the corps of all college-trained teachers that Chief Pula had envisioned, his conception of a proper Samoan classroom had come to pass.

CHANGING CURRICULUM PATTERNS

We may recall from Chapter 4 that over the first three decades of the twentieth century the major aim of the secular school system had been to Americanize Smaoans. This meant an emphasis on teaching English and using it as the language of instruction in other subjects. It also meant an array of school subjects that reflected the offerings of the typical U.S. mainland school and the adoption of textbooks published on the mainland or ones for English-language schools in the Philippines.

In the early 1930s this pattern changed after the Barstow Foundation's committee of mainland educators introduced progressive education to the islands. Over the next decade and a half the dual aim of the schools was to teach both the most worthy elements of Samoan culture and the skills necessary for Samoans to participate in the U.S. American societies of Hawaii and the mainland. Teaching was organized around experience units that would actively involve pupils in learning through experiences that classroom instructors devised —experiences adjusted to individual pupils' abilities, backgrounds, and interests.

Gradually in the latter 1930s and throughout the 1940s the progressive education approach deteriorated and was replaced once more by a U.S. mainland curriculum centered on textbooks from the States. In the 1950s there were a few evidences of concern for life in Samoa, such as mimeographed pamphlets about Samoan culture, legends, and island history. But in general the curriculum was that of a typical mainland school, except that grade-level expectations were lowered in Samoa because the pupils' command of English and teachers' command of subject-matter and teaching methodology were inadequate.

When the National Association of Educational Broadcasters set out to create a new curriculum in 1962-1964, they aimed to prepare the great majority of children to "live and work and make a better life for themselves in Samoa." In the process, the curriculum planners sought to "increase competency in use of the English language to the point where language is no barrier to educational development." For Samoan youths who wanted to go beyond high school, the new curriculum would offer opportunities to gain "a sound educational base that will enable them to enter American colleges and universities competitively on a level equal with other American students."[28]

The basic curriculum would consist of language arts, mathematics, science, and social studies, with the addition of such "ancillary subjects as are necessary to meet the specified objectives of the system.... Comprehension and facility in the use of the English language is requisite to learning in all other areas. Therefore, it is required in all subject-areas that major emphasis be placed upon the use of English.... We are committed in grades 1 through 12 to the development of competency in the English language through the use of the structural system developed by Dr. George Pittman (for use in other Pacific areas) and modified to the needs of American Samoa."[29]

When Mrs. Winifred Cobb arrived in the islands in 1963-1964 from her years of experience in Kentucky's educational television system, she began her job as curriculum director by surveying the curriculum guidesheets and learning materials currently used in American Samoa's schools. This survey convinced her that the textbook approach was unsuited to the needs of Samoan children. Therefore, in 1964 her staff discarded the existing texts and curriculum outlines in order to initiate an experimental approach that involved creating all new lessons. As far as possible, the lessons would reflect a Samoan viewpoint in the social studies and science topics. In addition, the staff decided to use Samoan language as the medium of instruction in the first two grades, with only oral English and some arithmetic taught in English. The purpose of this approach was to help pupils establish a sound introduction to learning in their native language before having to use English in all subject-matter areas. In grade 3 and subsequent grades, English became the medium of instruction. Thereafter, no Samoan language would be taught until high school when a year-long televised course on Samoan culture —given in the Samoan language— would be offered.

The basic plan set up in 1964 continued essentially intact for the eight elementary grades over the next decade. The high school curriculum, however, varied somewhat from course to course in its structure, with some courses devised by the local staff and others based heavily on textbooks from the U.S. mainland.

Although the general framework of the curriculum remained the same over the 1964-1975 period, changes were continually being made in particular subject areas. Art and music were added as "ancillary subjects." By the mid-1970s the Tate Oral English program (a system developed by the South Pacific Commission) and the Hawaii English Program (created at the University of Hawaii for pupils whose home language was not English) had replaced the earlier Pittman program. New syllabi for the social studies and for health education were developed, a marine-science course was introduced into the high school, and American football was offered as an interscholastic sport.

There were several sources of stimuli for these changes, including the educational beliefs of new directors of education, of subject-matter specialists hired on the mainland, and of consultants brought to the islands on short-term assignments from U.S. universities. A further stimulus to curriculum revision was a series of studies of unmet educational needs conducted with federal funds over the 1971-1974 period. The studies included the testing of students' academic and physical skills, analyses of 1700 classroom problems submitted by teachers, and a survey of the opinions of nearly 15 percent of the youths and adults of the islands.

The community-opinion survey was the first systematic poll of citizens' views of the school that had ever been conducted in American Samoa. The subgroups included in the study represented the legislature, high-school and college students, high-school graduates, major employers, teachers, school administrators, pastors, and parents who had little education and were engaged in such traditional occupations as farming and housekeeping. The survey showed that the two subjects which the adult population felt needed far greater attention in the schools were (1) Samoan language and culture and (2) English language. In effect, legislators, parents, teachers, and employers all wanted students to improve their command of English, but they also felt that Samoan youths were not learning enough of their own culture in daily community life to sustain Samoan traditions. The schools needed to give more attention to the indigenous language and history.

The youths in the survey —high-school and college students along with recent high-school graduates— also selected English as the subject most in need of improved instruction, but they expressed equal concern for improved offerings in vocational education, particularly in business practices.[30] In short, the younger generation valued most highly those school studies that would equip them with skills marketable in the modern sector of the island economy and in the States.

The community survey, along with the other studies of unmet needs, was used as the basis for additional curriculum revisions. Over the 1972-1974 period, major new programs supported by federal grants were developed in English-language instruction, bilingual and bicultural education, and vocational education. However, developments in these fields were seriously curtailed in 1975 by the island government's financial crisis.

In summary, the introduction of television in 1963-1964 brought a completely new approach to curriculum development in the islands' elementary schools. Imported English-language textbooks no longer determined what was taught. Instead, televised lessons and newly written pamphlets and worksheets presented children with a world viewed from the vantage point of American Samoa. Over the next decade the Department of Education's curriculum teams continually revised the elementary course of study to bring it into better line with the apparent needs of Samoan learners and the newest instructional concepts from the States. The high-school curriculum, however, was still dependent in most subject areas on textbooks from the U.S. mainland.

STAFFING THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

Five noteworthy changes occurred in the personnel hierarchy of the Department of Education over the years 1961-1975. The first three changes happened suddenly in the 1960s with the implementation of the instructional television system:

1. The number of staff members in the department increased more than three-fold, from slightly over 300 in 1960 to more than 1,000 in 1970.

2. The number of palagis —imported non-Samoans— increased seven-fold from 1960 to 1970, from fewer than 25 to over 175. The proportion of palagis in the system in 1960 was 7 percent, but by 1970 it was 16 percent.[31]

3. The diversity of skills required in the new instructional scheme increased many times over, so that far more people with specialized training were needed than ever before. In 1960 the jobs to be filled were those of central department administrators (such as the director and his top assistants), supervisors, school principals, teachers, and clerical workers. By 1970 the central department staff had curriculum specialists in all subject-matter fields in addition to the director and a series of assistant directors in charge of such areas as early-childhood education, teacher training, elementary schools, secondary schools, the business office, system-wide testing, federal funding, and others. Within the TV system there were television teachers, producer-directors, electronics engineers and technicians, artists, photographers, shipping clerks, research teachers, and the like. In the schools there were principals, teachers, counselors, librarians, clerks, custodians, and a few workers in the field of special education.

Two additional changes in the personnel hierarchy began in the mid-1960s but achieved their greatest prominence in the early 1970s:

4. The level of professional preparation of permanent staff members increased significantly as a result of more inservice education and the influence of daily telecasts.

5. Samoans ascended to a larger number of policy-making and specialist positions than they had held either in the mid-1960s or over the decades prior to the installation of instructional TV.

In the following pages, I review these from the vantage points of (1)

Samoanizing the staff of the education system, (2) upgrading Samoans' professional skills, (3) characteristics of non-Samoan personnel, and (4) the structure of the educational hierarchy in 1975.

Samoanizing the Education Staff

In the 1950s the successful world-wide movement of formerly colonized peoples taking over control of their own countries did not go unnoticed by Samoans. Like other peoples, Samoans in increasing numbers desired more of a voice in how they were governed. However, this desire took a different form in American Samoa than it did in Western Samoa.

The Western Samoans, who had been governed by New Zealand under a trust since World War I, wanted to become an independent nation, using New Zealand only for aid with national defense. Such a condition of independence was amicably negotiated with New Zealand in 1962. In contrast, most American Samoans wanted to continue as part of the United States, but they wanted Samoans rather than mainlanders to assume the key positions in government and business, not just subservient posts. In Washington, officials of the Department of the Interior agreed with this desire, at least in principle. So the question was not whether, but when, Samoans would assume top positions in the territorial government and business enterprises. This issue of the Samoanization of the Department of Education staff became a matter of constant concern throughout the 1961-1975 era.

Until 1961 the annual reports of the governor of American Samoa had mentioned with pride that the great majority of the employees in the Department of Education were Samoans. But when the Lee administration took over, this claim could no longer be made, for the steps to expand and upgrade the educational system required the importation of dozens of palagi personnel. Hence, the installation of instructional TV represented a major set-back for the Samoanization process. Not only were palagis brought in to fill the new positions that the TV plan required, but Samoans currently in the schools were demoted to less prestigious and less responsible jobs. Samoan principals were replaced by palagis, so that former principals had to become classroom teachers or assistant principals. And Samoan classroom teachers assumed the role of aide to television teachers rather than functioning as directors of children's learning activities.

However, the creators of the TV plan did not see the importation of palagi personnel as the long-term solution for operating the islands' schools. On the contrary, the staffing manual for the system explained that:

> An additional objective in the development of the new educational system is to train Samoan teachers and technicians in all required positions and responsibilities, so the Samoan people will be...fully capable of carrying on their own modern system of education with a minimum of outside assistance beyond the close of the initial master

plan phase.[32]

The problem, then, became one of deciding when "the initial master plan phase" was over. The scheme called for each palagi to have a Samoan counterpart who would be trained gradually into the job, and Department publications suggested that the "initial plan" consisted of the 12-year or 15-year cycle required to move one or two cohorts of pupils through the entire sequence of 12 grades of the new system. But other people felt that the Samoans should be assuming leadership and technical positions far earlier. By the close of the first six years of the program it was clear that Samoans were not taking over very rapidly. The new director of education, Milton deMello, observed that in 1970 "The stated goal of training and replacing stateside employees with Samoan counterparts was not being achieved at the rate that it might have; and in fact, as the system grew, so did the proportionate number of contract employees."[33]

There were several reasons that Samoanization did not rapidly move forward. One was that palagis were often so intent on doing their daily job that they took no time to train a Samoan to take it over. Another was that some palagis did not want to train a Samoan to take a job that the palagi himself wanted to keep. A third reason was that there was no properly supervised master plan for phasing-out palagi personnel.

A fourth reason concerned the problem of finding suitable Samoan replacements for specialized duties. Whereas television cameramen could adequately be trained on the job in Samoa, electronics engineers could not. It is true that a rapidly expanding scholarship program enabled larger numbers of high-school graduates to study overseas. However, once an apt Samoan youth was schooled abroad, he or she often found it more satisfying to stay in the States than to return to Samoa to receive a far lower salary than would a palagi for doing the same job. For example, in 1967 a Samoan elementary school principal earned $5,660 or 63 percent of the $9,000 received by a palagi principal in a Samoan elementary school. This discrepancy was not so great as was the 50-percent discrepancy of the 1950s, but it was still sufficient to make Samoans feel they were being discriminated against. Consequently, the Department of Education faced difficulties in attracting well prepared Samoan specialists.

The most persistent serious efforts to hasten the Samoanization of the school system came during the directorship of deMello in 1971-1972, efforts supported strongly by Governor Haydon. Attempts by deMello were focused particularly on moving Samoans into decision-making administrative jobs. For example, a plan was set up whereby the 23 palagi school principals of 1970 would be reduced to 1 by 1974, the 6 palagi assistant directors of education would become 2 by 1974, the 19 imported television teachers of 1970 would be only 11 by 1974, the 21 TV producer-directors would be 13, and the 7 instructional supervisors would become 2. However, the changing pattern of the islands' school system would require additions of palagi personnel in certain new positions, such as in the Community College and in the special-education program.[34]

Therefore, in the early 1970s the location of Samoans in leadership posts was effected more rapidly than it had ever been since the TV-instruction system was first established. Politically the most important appointment was the one recommended by deMello upon his resigning from the directorship at the end of 1972. In his final report to the Board of Regents he wrote:

> The leadership of the Department of Education should be indigenous. It is pointed out in most studies relating to education in American Samoa that the single issue of most importance is continuity of leadership. This implies stable Samoan leadership not only in the directorship but in other leadership areas.... [The desired leader is] a person who understands the culture, the needs of the people, the history of Samoan education, and a working knowledge of the community and its power structure. It does not mean the elimination of contract employees or consultant help. It does mean that Samoan leadership should identify position needs, then seek the best persons possible to fill these positions. If a qualified Samoan is not available, a contract employee will be hired. They key point is that Samoan leadership will make this decision.
>
> It is my recommendation...that this is the opportune time to make a break with the past of hiring an outside person to be Director, and appoint a local person. This first Samoan Director will be beset by "trials of fire" and may not last long. Therefore, a person who has prestige in the Department as well as in the community and who can get out honorably after much self-sacrifice should be the person to make this abrupt transition.... I recommend Chief Pula be named on an interim basis to fill the Directorship for one year.[35]

Acting on this recommendation, Governor Haydon appointed Chief Nikolao I. Pula, a 40-year veteran of the Department, to complete his service to the schools as the first Samoan to hold the islands' top education post. When Chief Pula retired in mid-1974, Mrs. Mere T. Betham, who until then had headed the schools' instructional services, was appointed as his replacement. She was the second Samoan and first woman to hold the directorship.

Such, then, was the process of Samoanization over the years 1961-1975. Governor Lee's solution to the inferior state of the schools in the 1960s had brought a sharp reversal of the Samoanization movement. However, over the ensuring years Samoans gradually assumed more important technical and administrative positions in the expanded, complex educational structure. So by 1975 Samoans held key decision-making jobs at all levels of the hierarchy, working in parallel with contract employees from the U.S. mainland and from other South Pacific areas.

Two questions may now be asked about the quality of these Samoans and of the palagis. How effectively did they do their jobs, and what factors influenced their effectiveness? In responding to these questions, I first consider the Samoans, then the palagis.

Samoans' Professional Skills

Appraisals made of the schools at the end of the 1960s suggest that, although there were some effective teachers in the schools, the great majority were far less capable than most teachers on the mainland. One of the greatest deficiencies continued to be their lack of fluency in English, the language they were supposed to be using nearly all of the time in their teaching. A reading expert from the States who taught a summer institute for Samoan teachers in 1960 reported that many of the institute participants "knew English only well enough to carry on the simplest conversations; often they could not read and understand the instructions in their teachers' manual."[36]

When Mildred Cobb, the first curriculum director in the TV system, visited classroms before the system's installation, she observed that teachers had written the previous year's school-examination questions on the blackboard along with the exact answers from the answer key. Children were rote memorizing the answers in the hope of meeting the same questions this year, since each year's items were drawn from the same pool of question that the central Department staff used in preparing the examinations.[37]

The creators of the instructional-television plan sought to remedy such inadequacies by means of the telecast lessons that would serve the Samoan teachers as models of good teaching. The palagi principals would function as on-the-job teacher educators to help Samoan teachers perform their classroom roles effectively.

In addition to the daily telecasts, the traditional vacation-time and after-shcool upgrading courses which had been the core of teacher preparation since 1921 were increased in number and variety after 1963. When the Feleti Teacher Training Program was integrated into the new Community College in 1970, the course offerings were extended to cover additional subjects, and participants earned credit toward the two-year academic degree awarded by the College.

The Univrsity of Hawaii sent faculty members to the islands to give courses that earned credit toward a degree in Hawaii. And in 1972 Brigham Young University in Utah opened a program leading to M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in educational administration. Candidates studied during the school year under the professors flown from Utah to Samoa for periodic intensive instruction sessions. Then in the summer the candidates traveled to Utah to take work on the university campus.

Further upgrading opportunities were offered over the years by a constant flow of experts from Hawaii and the mainland, experts who assisted Samoan educators with curriculum design and with the inservice training of teachers and administrators in such fields as science instruction, social studies, health education, group dynamics, test construction, educating the handicapped, English-language instruction, and vocational education.

In addition to furnishing increased upgrading opportunities in the islands, the Department of Education financed scholarships to send Samoans to the States for both short-term courses and college-degree programs in a variety of subject-matter fields as well as in administration and counseling.

During the deMello regime the Department also sought to reward Samoans who had taken upgrading studies. The reward took the form of a local "equivalency diploma" for completing inservice education that seemed equal to the amount of study that would earn either a two-year associate-in-arts or a four-year bachelor-of-arts degree on the mainland. During this same period the Feleti two-year teacher-training course of the 1960s was extended to a four-year course in the Community College.

As a final move to improve the quality of educational personnel, the territorial legislature was pressed in 1973 to alter the salary schedule so that Samoans would no longer receive lower pay than imported non-Samoans for doing the same type of work. The new salary scale gave equal pay for equal work and equal academic preparation, except that the palagi contract employees from the mainland continued to receive the 25 percent overseas bonus that had customarily been paid to them for setting up a new household in the islands. With the improved pay scale, Department officials hoped to attract more well educated Samoans from the mainland and to retain able personnel who in former times would have left the Department after a short stay in order to accept better paying jobs in other sectors of the islands' economy.

As a consequence of the foregoing array of upgrading opportunities, the quality of the teaching and administrative staffs improved over the 1960-1975 era. However, as shown in Table 5-2, by 1972 only 10 percent of the Samoan teachers and administrators had more formal preparation than the two-year Feleti program provided. Moreover, the 184 volunteers who staffed the early-childhood centers all had less than a high-school education.

Table 5-2

FORMAL EDUCATION OF SAMOAN TEACHERS AND ADMINISTRATORS —1972 [38]

Highest Degree	Teachers				Principals, Asst. Princ., Supervisors	Totals	% of Total
	Elementary	Secondary	Comm. College	ITV			
Masters		3	1		1	5	1%
Bachelors		17	10	5	7	39	9%
Feleti	235	52	2	8	37	334	81%
High School	18	15				33	8%
Less than High School	4	4				4	1%
	257	87	13	13	45	415	

Not only were Samoan staff members on the average below those on the mainland in terms of formal diplomas held but also in academic knowledge. At the end of 1967 the Gates Reading Test was administered to 237 elementary-school teachers, who scored at the mainland ninth-grade level in reading speed but slightly lower than sixth-graders in vocabulary and comprehension.[39] Twenty-three Samoan teachers who held a bachelor degree or its equivalent in upgrading units were given the National Teacher Examination in 1969, with their average score at the thirteenth percentile of mainland norms in written English, science, and mathematics. In knowledge of professional education they scored at the third percentile, indicating that only three percent of the mainland college seniors who had taken the test had scored lower.[40]

In brief, telecasts in English and increased upgrading opportunities over the 1965-1975 period improved the quality of teaching and administrative personnel. However, officials in the Department recognized that there was still a long way to go before the staff was comparable to staffs in Hawaii and on the mainland.

Characteristics of Non-Samoan Personnel

As noted earlier, there were far more outlanders in the Department of Education after 1961 than ever before. Most of them were palagis imported on two-year contracts to help operate the newly expanded and technologically complex instructional system. While prior to 1961 there had never been more than a handful of mainlanders in the public schools, by 1965 there were nearly 200. By 1975 this number had been reduced because the Samoanization plan had been increasingly implemented, and the government's financial crisis of 1974-1975 eliminated a variety of jobs held by palagis. Despite this reduction, the education system still depended far more on imported personnel in 1975 than it had prior to the television era.

Because the great majority of contract employees stayed in the islands only two years, or at the most four years, the total number who worked in the education system over the 1961-1975 period reached nearly 600. They were usually in key administrative, planning, and teaching posts, so that their influence on the quality of the education system was great in relation to their numbers. Although no formal surveys were ever conducted to determine statistically the apparent influence of contract personnel on the operation of education in the islands, I do have enough information from interviews and observations collected over the 1968-1975 period to identify four factors that heavily influenced the job performance of the non-Samoan staff members. After reviewing these factors, I have made a rough estimate of the effect on the schools of such personnel. The factors are (1) the original motives of the palagis to accept employment in Samoa, (2) the palagis' ability to adapt to the islands' culture, (3) individuals' professional talents, and (4) the length of time palagis remained in the islands.

Motives. Some contract employees had applied for a position in American Samoa out of a spirit of adventure and missionary zeal —a desire to live in an exotic culture and contribute to the betterment of the native people. Others had been driven more by a desire to escape an unhappy situation in the States —a marriage that was falling apart, a job that was proving unpleasant, or a sense of loneliness and maladjustment. Such escapees brought to the islands the romantic notion that a South Seas paradise would mend the marriage, make them successful in their work, or dispel their loneliness. A smaller percentage of contract employees had been Peace Corps volunteers who had married girls from the Pacific or the Orient. They viewed Samoa as an environment in which a couple with such a "mixed marriage" might be more readily accepted than in many U.S. mainland communities.

In general, the palagis who were motivated by a sense of adventure and social service appeared to fare better than those who were running away from an unsatisfactory life back home. It is true that some of the escapees used a compulsive dedication to their work in the islands as therapy for their unhappiness, and in these cases they became productive members of the educational establishment. But a larger proportion discovered that their troubles had not been left behind when they arrived in Samoa. Having to adjust to a strange culture put even greater strain on the unhappy marriage so that it disintegrated further in Samoa. The person who had troubles with a job at home found that the cause of the difficulties usually did not dissipate in the islands, frequently because the problems lay in the individual's own inadequacies. And those who had felt lonely in the States often experienced even greater difficulty establishing close emotional ties in Samoa. Consequently, people who came to the islands as an escape frequently failed to make a substantial contribution to the education system because they were distracted by their own problems. They tended to substitute liquor, a frenetic social life within the palagi community, or an early departure from the islands for dedication to their jobs.

Adaptability. The culture shock that has been identified as an important cause for distress among people who move into a strange social setting always has been a significant determinant of the effectiveness of palagi educators in Samoa. During the 1961-1975 period, this problem of adapting to the islands manifested itself in diverse ways. Many palagi newcomers were continually disturbed by normal living conditions in the island community —cockroaches and lizards scurrying about the room, a rainfall of 200 or 250 inches a year, muddy roads, poorly stocked stores, unreliable electric power, and the disappearance of household items that were not locked up when Samoan children or workmen were around. Contract employees, in their jobs as teachers or television technicians or school administrators, often suffered from their ignorance of Samoan language and custom. Out of their frustration or ignorance, they made insulting remarks to Samoans or acted in ways which, in Samoan tradition, were demeaning. Some palagis were also disturbed by working in an office or in a television studio in which the Samoans spoke their own language, so that the palagi did not know what or whom they were discussing.

Such problems of adapting to life in the islands distracted contract employees from their jobs and strained their relationships with Samoan co-workers, thus impairing their efficiency on the job.

In contrast, other palagis reveled in the novelty of their new life and adjusted easily to Samoa and its people. As a consequence, they were able to contribute effectively to the education system soon after their arrival.

Professional Talents. One problem that recruiters of palagi contract employees continually faced was the limited size of the pool of potential candidates from which the employees might be drawn. The goal of the recruiters —whether the NAEB in the early 1960s, the University of Hawaii in the latter 1960s and early 1970s, or the Department of Education itself in the mid-1970s— was to find the most talented and experienced experts for the jobs they tried to fill each year. However, there were many reasons that the majority of mainlanders who fit the requirements were not available. Most were already settled into well-paying jobs that promised continuing satisfactions in the form of increased pay, promotion to positions of greater prestige, and a secure pension plan. They did not propose to disrupt their children's schooli[illegible] leave their friends, and give up their jobs for poor pay and uncertain li[illegible] conditions in the South Pacific. Hence, the pool of talented and experienced candidates was limited to the small minority who, with a bent for adventure, were willing to give up a secure life at home for an unknown fate on a small, far-off island.

The source of suitable appointees was further restricted by the fact that recruiters did not have efficient means for informing all possible candidates of the job openings in Samoa. Information was sent to college job-placement bureaus, but such bureaus are usually in touch only with new graduates or with experienced educators who are hunting for a new job. Therefore, a great proportion of potential candidates who were currently employed in satisfactory positions never heard of the openings in Samoa.

As a consequence of these factors, recruiters had to hire some contract employees who had little experience or who were not among the most talented of educators. And nearly every year, as the time for the opening of school approached, there were still positions unfilled. To staff these positions, education officials frequently hired wives of existing contract employees or hired college graduates who, while wandering as tourists across the South Seas, happened to stop by the Department of Education to ask for a job.

The foregoing recruiting conditions resulted in the hiring of contract employees who represented a wide array of professional skill, ranging from excellent to poor. Sources of available candidates were simply too few to ensure the selection of personnel who were all of proven high quality.

Length of Stay. Over the decades the efficiency of the islands' educational program had suffered from the constant turnover of educators imported from the States. No contract employees in the Department had ever settled down to make Samoa their permanent home and make teaching or supervising in the school system their permanent occupation. Some never lasted out their initial two-year contract. Most left after two or four years. Few stayed any longer. As one veteran Samoan school administrator described it, "They are busy the first year adjusting to life in Samoa and learning what their job is all about. Then by the second year when they know what they are doing and are of some real use, they are getting ready to return home."

This problem of personnel turnover became particularly significant in the 1960s and 1970s, because the numbers of outlanders working in the education system had grown so large. But from the Samoans' viewpoint the problem also had its positive side. It stimulated the governor and officials in the Department of the Interior in Washington to hasten the process of Samoanizing the educational structure at all levels.

In conclusion, the large number of palagis in the public-education enterprise during the television-instruction period were quite varied in the quality of their contribution to the system. The ones who made the greatest constructive impact on Samoan education tended to be those who were motivated by a desire for improving the welfare of Samoans, who adjusted readily to life in the islands, who made it their business to understand Samoan customs, who were professionally talented and experienced, and who remained in Samoa long enough to improve their effectiveness on the basis of their continuity of experience in the islands' schools.

The Educational Staffing Hierarchy

In earlier chapters I described educational personnel according to their roles in the school system and their positions on the educational power and prestige hierarchy. To close this discussion of staffing during the television era, I shall note briefly the changes in the system's social structure that occurred during this time.

By 1975 the top position in the power structure —the governorship— was still in the hands of a palagi appointed by the Secretary of the Interior (although in 1978 this post, too, would be in the hands of an elected Samoan). The top professional position beneath the governor, that of the director of education, was now held by a Samoan, Mrs. Mere T. Betham. In addition, the majority of the assistant directors for various divisions within the system were also Samoans. And several such positions that were still held by contract employees were in a state of transition into the hands of Samoan counterparts who were being prepared to take over within a year or two. The positions of curriculum planners and TV-instruction supervisors were filled partly by Samoans and partly by palagis. Technical-support offices, such as those of research and testing, were headed and staffed by Samoans, with an occasional palagi retained as a consultant.

Top-level engineering positions in the television system were still in the hands of contract personnel, although an increasing numbr of technicians and producer-directors were Samoan.

The Community College and high schools continued to hire palagis in teaching positions to supplement the Samoan faculty. Even though all high-school and elementary-school administrators were Samoans by 1975, the College still had several palagi administrators.

Elementary-school teachers, who in former times had been at the bottom of the educational-prestige ladder, were now on the next-to-bottom level. The teachers and teacher aides in the new early-childhood centers represented the lowest layer of the school-personnel hierarchy.

In effect, by 1975 outlanders still were found in substantial numbers in the upper reaches of the Department of Education's structure. However, they no longer held the top decision-making posts. In the upper stata Samoans and palagis now worked in parallel, with palagis functioning mostly in technical roles and Samoans involved in both policy-making and technical work. This was the first time in the islands' educational history that palagis worked under the direction of Samoan leadership.

STUDENTS — THEIR CHARACTERISTICS AND PROBLEMS

During the 1965-1975 decade, Samoan youths faced far greater opportunities for formal education than had any generation before them. At the same time, instructional television and other changes in the schools and in allied social institutions confronted the islands' youths with more social conflicts and problems of decision than young Samoans had faced earlier. The problems are perhaps reflected in three sets of questions that confronted the typical Samoan adolescent:

1. What is the right way for me —faa Samoa or faa palagi? Or can I work out some satisfactory combination of the two?
2. Where do I want to live my life, and what do I want to do? What things should I strive to get to make me happy?
3. Do I have the skills and opportunities necessary to get what I want?

The new education system of the 1965-1975 period affected young people's answers to these questions in a variety of important ways. First, television significantly expanded their view of the non-Samoan world, both through the social-studies and science lessons telecast to classrooms during the daytime and through the entertainment programs of the late afternoon and evening. Therefore, many more options for ways of living were available for young people to consider in comparison to the Samoan ways —the faa Samoa— that they experienced in their daily lives. With such alternatives before them, they appeared to face greater difficulty than had similar youths in the past in making proper choices about which ways of life would be best for them.

For those young people who were strongly attracted by elements of mainland culture, problems arose in their relationshiops with parents and other members of their aiga. In a family that still adhered stongly to the Samoan-Christian way of life traditionally followed over the century of 1850-1950, a boy or girl who chose to adopt more ways of the U.S. mainland ran the risk of being increasingly rejected by the aiga. And in a society in which one's identity was so closely tied to membership in the aiga, this became a serious problem for the youth.

Not only did the television-centered school system open new ways of life, but it also tended to foster higher hopes for assuming these ways than had been true in the 1940s or 1950s. In earlier decades when upper-secondary education was available to only a few, teen-agers who dropped out of school in the elementary or junior-high grades were not given much hope of moving to the mainland or to Hawaii and succeeding very well in those societies. Rather, such youths appeared to see their future as lying in traditional Samoan society. However, with the expansion of universal schooling through the senior-high grades in the 1960s and the intensified study of English in the schools, many more youths could entertain the possibility that they might aspire to a successful life outside of Samoa.

Along with this extension of schooling and the rising aspirations of youth, school officials in the latter 1960s and in the 1970s recognized an obligation to povide more adequate guidance services. Compared to the past, officials saw a need for keeping far more complete records of pupils' progress, for furnishing better information about educational and job opportunities, and for counseling with youths about their vocational plans and personal problems. Although attempts to set up suitable guidance services in the 1960s were generally unsuccessful, by the mid-1970s considerable progress had been made in the secondary schools.

As Samoan youths were considering new styles of life and different places to live, they were constantly haunted by the question of whether they had the skills, the knowledge, and the personal appearance that would enable them to get what they wanted. Their estimate of how their personal characteristics matched those required for success in the islands was more accurate, and they felt more confident about it, than their estimate of how they might fare in the States or in New Zealand where Western Samoans traditionally had migrated. Because many members of their aiga traveled back and forth to these places and lived abroad for varied lengths of time, there were always people around to tell stories of their experiences abroad. As a consequence, a youth's ideas of his chances to prosper overseas apparently were heavily compounded of stories he heard others tell of their experiences —of the widespread belief in Hawaii that Samoans were often involved in violent crime, of opportunities for work on construction projects on the U.S. West Coast, of chances to become a well-paid non-commissioned officer in the Navy or Marine Corps, of prejudicial treatment of Samoans by whites on the mainland.

The amount of information about how Samoan boys and girls compared in academic and physical skills to mainland children and youths increased considerably in the early 1970s as the schools developed a systematic testing program. The results of this testing are useful in answering two questions that concerned Samoans and palagis alike over the years. First, how well prepared were Samoans to compete equally with mainlanders in those areas requiring language skills and general knowledge? Second, how adequately were Samoan students on the average learning what they were being taught in school?

To answer the first of these questions, we can inspect the scores earned by Samoans on standardized English-language tests from the mainland. To answer the second, we can inspect scores earned by Samoans on tests designed to measure what was being taught in the schools of American Samoa.

Comparisons with Mainland Students. By the early 1970s the Department of Education had established an annual program of assessing students on standardized tests imported from the States. The Science Research Associates achievement battery was used in grades 7 through 12. Results of such testing in 1971 and again in 1979 are shown in Table 5-3. The grade levels of Samoan students are given in the far-left column. Grade levels of mainland students who received the same average score as Samoans are given in the body of the table. The 1971 results indicate that after the TV-instruction system had been operating for more than five years, Samoan pupils were behind their mainland grade-mates in all subject fields and at all grade levels. The greatest deficiencies were in reading, with grade-12 Samoans more than six grades behind mainland students. At all levels, Samoans' strongest subject was arithmetic. The composite score in the right column shows overall achievement as represented by an average of all five subject-matter tests. The composite indicates that Samoan students improved from grade to grade at a slower rate than did mainland students. In grade 7 Samoans were only 2.17 grades behind stateside pupils, but by grade 12 they were 5.30 grades behind.

These figures can then be compared with scores in grades 8 and 12 in 1979. While the grade-8 students in 1979 were no better than grade-8 students in 1971 (and even slightly below), the grade-12 students in 1979 were on the average more than two grades above their 1971 counterparts, and in language arts they were nearly four grades above. Schramm compared the 12th-grade 1979 report with the scores that this same cohort of students had earned in 1975 when they were in grade 8, and he discovered that they had gained an average of 3.3 grade levels over the four-year span —nearly the same rate of development for the mainland students on which the SRA tests had been standardized. The gain over the four-year period was greatest in language arts (5 years) and reading (3.9). The least gain was in science (2.6) and mathematics (2.8), two subjects which Schramm estimated "are not taken by so many Samoan high school students."[42]

Table 5-3

SAMOAN STUDENTS' SCORES ON SRA ACHIEVEMENT TESTS —1971, 1979 [41]

Grade Level of Samoan Students	Academic Skills Tested in 1971*					
	Social Studies	Science	Language Arts	Arithmetic	Reading	Composite Score
7	4.5	5.0	4.3	5.6	4.1	4.7
8	4.8	5.7	4.7	6.4	4.3	5.2
9	4.8	5.3	5.4	6.2	4.5	5.3
10	5.2	5.6	6.0	6.5	4.8	5.6
11	5.3	5.6	5.7	6.6	5.0	5.6
12	6.0	6.1	6.5	7.5	5.8	6.4
	Academic Skills Tested in 1979					
8	4.5	4.3	5.2	6.2	3.9	4.9
12	8.6	7.2	10.4	9.6	7.8	8.7

*Numbers in the body of the table show average grade levels of students who scored as well as the Samoans whose grade level is listed in the far-left column.

Such test results suggested that by the end of the 1970s students in the elementary schools were not achieving any better than —or even as well as— their counterparts at the beginning of the decade, who had still been in the original form of the television instructional system. However, high-school students were now displaying marked gains in learning the kinds of academic skills and knowledge evaluated on the standardized tests. High-school graduates in Samoa were not yet up to mainland standards, but they were gaining. The more serious instructional problems by the end of the decade appeared to be in the elementary grades.

In retrospect, Schramm, Nelson, and Betham [43] speculated about such a pattern of academic performance. That is, they speculated about (1) Samoan students traditionally getting farther and farther behind their mainland agemates as they advanced through the grades and (2) the Samoan high-school students in the late 1970s making far greater gains than did elementary-school pupils. In seeking to account for these phenomena, the authors rejected the notion that Samoan learners were genetically inferior to their mainland counterparts, because in the Fia Iloa school for English-speaking students, Samoans made up about half the pupil population in 1971 when SRA scores for grades 1-4 of the school's pupil population were even slightly higher than average scores of mainland pupils. The Fia Iloa Samoans did, however, come principally from homes in which English was spoken much of the time. Therefore, Schramm and his coauthors estimated that the depressed scores of Samoan children in the regular schools resulted from a combination of (1) some items on the standardized tests being culture-bound (involving experience with cold weather and the like), (2) the turmoil in the islands' educational-TV system over the 1964-1975 period, and (3) home backgrounds of the children, particularly the discrepancy between the Samoan language spoken at home and the English language used in school.

Comparisons with Samoan Standards. Samoan educators not only asked how well students matched stateside standards but also how well pupils were learning what was being taught in their own curriculum. To answer the latter question, the staff of the territorial testing office in the 1970s developed an array of tests focusing on the specific goals of the curriculum in English-language listening and writing skills, science, health, social studies, mathematics, Samoan-language reading, and Samoan history and custom. Except for the language tests, each of these instruments was constructed in two forms, one in English and the other in Samoan. One thing the testers discovered was that on the average, pupils could more adequately answer test questions in Samoan than in English from grades 2 through 5 in the subjects of social studies, science, and mathematics. After grade 5 the average student did better on the English-language version of the tests. However, the students' scores on Samoan history and culture were higher at all grade levels, 1 through 12, on the Samoan-language version of the tests. But at all grade levels, some children did better in one language than the other. Consequently, the testing office recommended that on future achievement measures, test items be cast in both English and Samoan so each pupil could choose to answer in whichever language he or she felt more competent.[44]

In addition to judging the language in which students knew the most subject-matter, the testing team appraised how well they mastered the material they had been taught in recent years. As a standard of judgment, the testers used the criterion commonly adopted by mastery-learning advocates on the U.S. mainland. If students on the average answered at least 85 percent of the test items correctly, they were credited with having achieved the learning objectives at a satisfactory level. According to this standard, Samoan pupils during the 1973-1974 period were succeeding quite well in English-language listening comprehension, particularly above grade 5. Their attainment in science was fairly satisfactory, particularly in the middle grades. English writing skills were moderately good, with children's greatest gains in writing occurring between grades 3 and 6. Somewhat serious deficiences were found in health knowledge and social studies. In Samoan reading skills and Samoan culture, the students' average was between 10 and 30 percent below the expected standard at various grade levels.[45]

So it was that students attained some curriculum goals satisfactorily but fell markedly short of others in the early 1970s. Evaluators singled out several factors as likely causes for the deficiencies, in addition to those proposed by Schramm, Nelson, and Betham to account for the standardized-test outcomes. The factors included: (1) a lack of consistency between the stated learning objectives and the content of daily lessons, particularly in social studies and health education, (2) teaching methods that failed to motivate pupils to study diligently and failed to communicate meanings clearly, and (3) students' attitudes toward school.

Student attitudes were reflected in such behavior as missing school and not doing homework. As noted earlier, irregular school attendance was a problem more than a century old. Obligations and attractions in traditional Samoan life took precedence over consistent school attendance —such attractions as a family visit to a distant village, helping prepare for a family party, or feeling "out of sorts" (musu). In a survey of 1700 common classroom problems submitted by teachers in 1972, pupils' absence from class was cited at all school levels as one of the most critical causes of unsatisfactory student progress. A further cause behind negative attitudes was the confusion apparently felt by many teen-agers about their future in a rapidly changing society. They seemed unconvinced that it was worth exerting the effort needed to do well in school.

In sum, Samoan students during the 1965-1975 decade were on the average not succeeding as well as curriculum planners believed they should in several subject-matter fields, though in a few they appeared to do rather well when compared against standards held by local educators. Compared to mainland academic standards, Samoan students were still significantly deficient. In the mid-1970s education officials were attempting to remedy the apparent causes for these deficiencies through adjusting the curriculum more to student needs, teaching English more efficiently, and offering better educational counseling. It was a difficult time of social transition for many island youths.

THE STATUS OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS

In 1961 there were two sorts of private schools in American Samoa. One was the traditional village religious school conducted in the Samoan language by a Protestant pastor or Catholic catechist. The classes were taught in the church or in the pastor's home in the late afternoon, on the weekend, and during summer vacation. Dozens of such schools were spread throughout the villages, most of them following the same combination of Bible study, arithmetic, Samoan reading, geography, natural science, and history taught in such classes over the past century. Some pastors had adopted newer teaching materials and methods recommended by the religious orders' central offices in Western Samoa —such methods as group discussions centering on pictures showing social-problem situations. However, many pastors still used text materials bearing publishing dates from the first decade or two of the twentieth century. Although no careful census of children attending these schools was conducted in the 1960s and 1970s, the number likely reached two or three thousand, including those who attended only occasionally.

The other type of private school was the English-language variety that taught the same subjects as the public schools but was sponsored by one of the islands' principal religious denominations —the London Missionary Society (two junior highs), the Latter Day Saints (one high school), the Roman Catholics (three elementary), the Seventh Day Adventists (one elementary), and the Assemblies of God (one junior high). These eight schools in 1961 enrolled 1,287 students, which is over 20 percent higher than their average enrollment for the 1955-1960 period. The total represented nearly 20 percent of the entire enrollment in secular-curriculum schools, grades 1 through 12, in American Samoa.[46]

By 1975 the two types of private institutions operating in 1961 were still conducting their educational programs, but the appeal of the pastor and catechist schools had diminished. Not as many parents apparently believed it necessary for children to attend daily religious classes in addition to regular school. Village schools seemed to be losing out to secular education. In contrast, the church-sponsored schools which conducted programs parallel to that of the public schools continued to thrive. However, during the 1961-1975 period several important changes occurred in their operation. And besides these traditional institutions, a new sort of secular private school arose in 1975 as a result of the 1974 dissolution of the separate contract-employees' Fia Iloa government school. The following paragraphs offer a review of key developments in the church-sponsored schools and in the Fia-Iloa replacement during this period.

Church-Sponsored Secular Education. From the viewpoint of denominational involvement in elementary and secondary education, the main trends between 1961 and 1975 were these. The London Missionary Society —now known as the Congregational Church of American Samoa— by 1963 had closed the last of the schools it had operated from the beginning of the century —the Atauloma Girls' school. The Assemblies of God also closed their Happy Valley Christian School that same year, as the government's new consolidated elementary schools, grades 1-8, were being erected. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s Seventh-Day Adventists continued to conduct a small eight-year elementary school, as did the local Congregational Christian Church.

The life cycle of the Mormons' Mapusaga High School coincided closely with the 1961-1975 period. Educational efforts initiated by the Church of Latter Day Saints at the beginning of the century had focused on elementary schooling until the Mormon elementary school closed with the outbreak of World War II. Then, from 1960 through 1974, the Mormons conducted a six-grade (7-12) high school on a newly constructed, spacious campus at Mapusaga. In its early days the high school had trouble attracting students. But by the end of the 1960s it had more applicants than it could accept. The enrollment at this time reached nearly 370, with a high pecentage of the students from islands other than American Samoa. For example, in 1968 after the government began to charge non-U.S. nationals a $420 fee to attend public high schools, many Western Samoan, Tongan, and Fijian youths in the territory transferred to Mapusaga, where the annual fee was $8 for Mormons and $12 for non-Mormons. In 1968 American Samoans made up 58 percent of the enrollment, Western Samoans 32 percent, Tongans 8 percent, and other islanders and palagis the remaining 2 percent.[47] In the early 1970s leaders of the Mormon educational program in the Pacific decided that the available public-school facilities would now suffice for the islanders' needs, so the operation of Mapusaga was terminated in 1974 and the facilities transferred to the government to house the Community College of American Samoa.

While the Protestant schooling establishment was shrinking, the Catholic education system was growing. For many decades the Catholic teaching orders of Marist Brothers and Marist Sisters had conducted elementary schools at Leone and on Pago Pago Bay. In contrast to palagi educators in public schools, the palagis who held key posts in the Catholic schools were long-term residents of the islands, fluent in the Samoan language and highly respected by the pupils. Brother Herman Seringer, originally from Germany, had served in Samoa for 56 years before his death in 1970 at age 75. He was well known throughout the South Pacific for his books on Samoan culture. His long-time colleague, Brother Michael, also from Germany, was still teaching in the boys' school at Atuu on Pago Pago Bay in 1975 after more than 50 years in the islands. The girls' schools counted among their palagi teachers Marist sisters who had taught for two or three decades in American Samoa. The service of these permanent staff members was supplemented by shorter terms of teaching by other Marist Brothers and Sisters and by lay members of several orders who came mainly from the United States and New Zealand. A small number of Samoans also taught in the schools.

The Marist schools, particularly those conducted for the boys, were always held in high regard in the territory, partly because a majority of leaders in business life and in government positions were graduates of the schools. These men were known as The Old Boys, who formed a strong alumni association which, in the latter 1960s and early 1970s, sponsored a series of highly profitable bingo-game nights and public dances that brought in the funds to construct both an ingeniously designed concrete elementary school on the lower slope of Mt. Alava overlooking Pago Pago Bay and a new high school in Leone.

Prior to the 1960s, there had been no Catholic senior-high school for either girls or boys in American Samoa. But in the mid-1960s, Sister Mary Patrick, a 30-year veteran faculty member from New York City, began to conduct a post-elementary business-education course at the St. Francis elementary school on Pago Pago Bay. Girls enrolled in this program received a certificate of completion from the Gregg business-studies headquarters in New York when they had finished the three-year sequence of typing, shorthand, and business-practice classes. The program was small, with around 10 new girls enrolling each year, of which perhaps six would complete the course. The business studies for girls were superimposed atop the basic nine-grade St. Francis elementary school that averaged an enrollment of 350 girls. A similar elementary-level convent school continued to operate over this period at Leone, as it had for many decades.

The new Marist boys' high school erected in 1973-1974 in Leone was a project that had been initiated in 1954 by a group of chiefs who had asked Catholic authorities to open a high school on Tutuila. The Marist Order felt it could not fulfill this request because of the limited funds and staff it had for operating schools in the Pacific. But repeated overtures by the chiefs brought success in 1969, when the existing Marist elementary school on Pago Pago Bay extended its offerings to include a new ninth grade. In 1970 a new principal, Brother Edmund Kyne from New Zealand, came to teach all subjects except bookkeeping, which was taught by a member of the elementary-school staff. After three years, the faculty had grown to seven imported teachers —three Brothers from New Zealand and four lay teachers from the United States. By 1972, when the program consisted of grades 9-11 conducted in shabby wooden buildings formerly occupied by the elementary school, there were 112 boys enrolled.[48] The new high school building at Leone was finished in 1974, and the staff and students moved there at the beginning of the fall semester to occupy their permanent campus.

Thus, the Catholic schools did not simply maintain their traditional position in Samoan society during the instructional-TV era. Instead, they grew in enrollment, in housing facilities, and in the number of grade levels offered to students. There were several reasons for this display of vitality in the face of competition from the public schools' television system. As already mentioned, many community leaders were Marist school graduates who had established strong alumni associations and were proud of their own educational backgrounds. They not only sent their own children to the Marist schools but worked hard to raise funds for constructing new facilities. Second, many Samoan parents doubted the effectiveness of TV instruction, particularly in view of the fact that the contract personnel from the mainland sent their own children to the special Fia Iloa school that did not use the television system. Third, many Samoans placed more faith in the abilities and dedication of Marist Brothers and Sisters who had spent long years in the islands than they did in the palagi members of the public schools' staff who came for two or four years. Consequently, the Catholic schools, though they faced constant financial problems, thrived throughout the 1961-1975 period.

The New Secular Private School. From the earliest days of the twentieth century there had always been a school on Pago Pago Bay intended particularly for the children of palagi employees from the States. The purpose of the school was to give children a type of instruction that would keep them up with the education received by their agemates on the mainland. The post-World-War-II version of this institution was known in the 1950s as the Dependents' School and in the 1960s and 1970s by the Samoan title, Fia Iloa. It was attended not only by palagi pupils but also by Samoans and part-Samoans who had become proficient in English, usually because they had attended school for a time in the States.

For some years the school had been controversial. But it became even more an object of debate in the 1960s when the TV-instructional system was being touted as a superior mode of education, yet Fia Iloa maintained its traditional classroom approach built around textbooks imported from the mainland. Samoan critics charged that Fia Iloa was staffed by the best teachers from the States and was attended by children of educators who operated the TV-instructional system. If the TV system was so effective, why did the palagis' children not use it? The defenders of Fia Iloa pointed out that if children from the mainland attended regular Samoan schools, they would be held back in their progress by the Samoan pupils' and teachers' inadequate command of English.

The conflict about Fia Iloa reached a crisis point in 1974 when officials in Washington refused to award a major federal education grant to the island government on the grounds that the Department of Education was financing a segregated school. The Department's leaders had already formulated a plan for eliminating Fia Iloa as a special school and for distributing its teachers and students among the other elementary schools of the territory. Despite the vigorous objections from palagis and English-speaking Samoan parents (many of whom were officials in the local government), Fia Iloa was disbanded as a segregated school in 1974.

This action motivated parents of former Fia Iloa students to try achieving the dependents' school's purpose by moving outside the public-school system. Such parents who did not want to send their children to existing private schools formed an association which began in 1975 to conduct a small elementary school of its own.

SUMMARY - THE 1961-1975 ERA

The fifteen-year period between 1961 and 1975 brought a series of notable "firsts" to education in American Samoa.

It was the first time that virtually all children and youths between ages three and 18 attended secular public schools. It was the first time that all elementary and secondary classes were housed in first-rate school buildings equipped in a fashion comparable to that of leading mainland schools.

American Samoa also boasted the first system-wide instructional plan in which telecasts served as the core of most lessons, so that the classroom teacher functioned as an aide to the television teacher rather than as the main formulator and presenter of instruction. This "cooperative system of instruction making the maxium use of television" did not run completely through the 15-year cycle envisioned in 1962-1963 by its inventors. Rather, in the early 1970s television was assigned the role of supplement to the basic program conducted by the classroom teacher. By the mid-1970s many elementary-school teachers still used daily telecasts as important elements of their instruction. However, at the high-school level television had all but disappeared.

In terms of personnel, the 1960s and 1970s marked a great influx of non-Samoans as principals, teachers, and operators of the complex television system and of new educational services, such as standardized testing and the education of the handicapped. At the same time, there was a significant Samoanization of the personnel hierarchy as Samoans were appointed to the highest decision-making positions in the structure, and palagis increasingly assumed technical and consultant roles.

The 1960s and 1970s witnessed the largest investment ever made by the federal government in special services for the people of the islands —such services as school-lunch programs, bicultural education, vocational counseling, education for the handicapped, marine-science education, and multi-media learning centers in schools.

Samoa's adult population in the 1970s received their first opportunity to attend college in the islands, either to earn a two-year associate-in-arts degree or to pursue one of many non-degree vocational courses.

In brief, the period was the time of the most rapid growth ever experienced by the islands' education system. But the growth halted abruptly in mid-1974 after officials discovered that financial mismanagement over recent years had sunk the island government deeply into debt. Under a new governor, a series of emergency measures were ordered. All departments were forced to cut expenditures in 1975 by at least 30 percent. This meant the dismissal of scores of staff members in the Department of Education, strict limits on the purchase of routine equipment and supplies, the end of consultants from the mainland, and the reduction of social services.

The epoch of excitement and innovation, of optimism and educational expansion that Governor Lee had inaugurated in 1961 had come to an end. Looking back over this period, Schramm, Nelson, and Betham observed that:

> What stands out, in retrospect, is that ETV is not a miracle drug for a school system. On the other hand, there is reason to believe that ETV will help an educational system, any system, at any stage of development, if it is used skillfully to meet the special needs of that system. There is little doubt that it helped in Samoa, even though it may not always have been used in the best way at all times for the best purposes. It certainly helped to accomplish things not directly measureable in terms of student performance —for example, getting the money to build consolidated schools, encouraging the building of electric power lines throughout the islands, establishing efficient communication links between the remote schools and the Department of Education, and ultimately creating a workable program of testing in the schools. Beyond those indirect contributions, there can be little doubt that it contributed greatly to raising the standard of English in the schools.... If TV is used skillfully, as we have said, it can help

almost any system, but the major result depends on the system, not the technology.[49]

Chapter 6

IN 1980 — FUTURE PROSPECTS

By the early 1980s, universal compulsory schooling was a reality for virtually all Samoans of elementary- and secondary-school age. Furthermore, nearly every child, ages 3 through 5, participated in a five-day-a-week preschool program under the guidance of trained volunteers. And at the upper end of the schooling ladder, enrollments increased in the American Samoa Community College, where students earned associate-of-arts and associate-of-science degrees. The college also included a bachelor-of-education program conducted in conjunction with the University of Hawaii.

Private schools continued to operate in parallel to the public schools. As shown in Table 6.1, of the 13,973 pupils in the territory's early-childhood, elementary, and secondary schools in 1980, over 85 percent were in the public system. The teacher-pupil ratio in public elementary grades had decreased from 1-to-20 in 1975 to 1-to-17 in 1980 as the number of school-age children in the general population decreased slightly. In the secondary grades, the ratio in 1980 was 1-to-1[illegible].

Table 6-1

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOL ENROLLMENTS 1980 [1]

	Schools	Boys	Girls	Total
Public Schools				
Preschools	130	971	981	1,952
Elementary (1-8)	24	2,890	2,507	5,397
Secondary (9-12)	4	1,268	1,159	2,427
Special Education	1	60	43	103
(Total)	159	5,189	4,690	9,879
Community College	1	(in degree programs)		900
(adult continuing education at Community College)				1,200
Private Schools				
Elementary and Secondary	8	869	1,125	1,994
Grand Total	168			13,973

Schooling in the public sector continued to be nearly free of cost to students, with the funds to support the system still derived from both local-government revenue and the U.S. federal government. Funds for private schools were still provided mainly by church organizations and by fees charged to parents. The annual expenditure per pupil in the public system had risen in elementary schools from US$344 in 1975 to $442 by 1980 and in secondary schools from $424 to $477.[2]

By the 1980s, television as an instructional medium had been essentially abandoned. Some teachers still used videotapes from the past for English-language listening practice, but most instruction was now provided by the classroom teacher. One reason for setting television aside was that by 1980 the marked advances in both preservice and inservice teacher-training achieved since 1960 had equipped the territory's teachers to use a variety of modern individualized instructional techniques. Another reason was that the political motives which had originally stimulated the U.S. Government to furnish massive financial support for Samoa's schools no longer existed, so the television-instruction system lacked the personnel and material support that would sustain it at the level it enjoyed in the 1960s and during the early 1970s.

Looking to the future, American Samoa's educational leaders in the 1980s faced a series of problems to solve. First was the problem of the bicultural goal —equipping all students to succeed in both Samoan and U.S. mainland cultures— which students had failed to achieve at the level expected by members of the community. To reduce the gap between the goal and student achievement, either the goal needed to be set at a less demanding level (not expect all students to be prepared to compete equally well in Samoan and U.S. mainland societies) or else instruction in the school needed to be markedly improved. Perhaps the most reasonable solution would be both to reduce the level of the goal and to improve instruction.

The improvement of instruction would depend heavily on upgrading the quality of teachers, particularly at the elementary-school level. This upgrading task, in turn, depended on the quality of the islands' teacher-training program, the ability of the school system to retain able instructors in the classroom, and the ability of the schools to attract from the U.S. mainland efficient educational consultants as well as skilled teachers to staff classrooms for which no capable Samoan teachers were available.

The quality of instruction would also be influenced by the efficiency of the administrators and planners on the central Department of Education staff. In the 1980s it was apparent that the demands of several of the key administrative and technical posts in the Department were beyond the professional talents of the Samoans currently occupying those positions. Thus, some measure of inefficiency in administration and planning could be expected in the decades ahead unless top-level staff members either could be upgraded in their skills and dedication or could be replaced by more effective Samoan educators. The continued use of capable consultants from the U.S. mainland also appeared to be needed.

In terms of finance, American Samoa during the twentieth century had never been a self-sustaining economic unit. Funding from Washington was always required to support public services. In the 1960s, support for education reached the level of many millions of dollars annually as the result of (1) Congressional enthusiasm for the television-instruction experiment and (2) the availability of special funds for disadvantaged peoples. But, as noted earlier, by the mid-1970s these resources had been greatly reduced, so that in the 1980s educational leaders were pressed to attract further funding from both Washington and the territorial government in order to maintain the physical plant, improve teacher education, finance the Samoan portion of bicultural curriculum development, and offer teachers attractive salaries.

If these were the chief problems of the early 1980s, then what had been the educational gains of recent years? Without question, the general condition of the public school system was now the best in its history. All American Samoan children attended well equipped elementary and secondary schools of modern design. Nearly all preschool children attended nursery schools in their own villages. More high-school graduates attended college than ever before, either in American Samoa's own Community College or on the mainland. Samoans dominated the educational-personnel hierarchy, from the leadership positions at the top to the classroom-teaching posts in the schools.

While the public schools enrolled the great majority of the islands' children and youth, such traditional private schools as the Marist Brothers' and Sisters' Catholic schools thrived as well, attracting as many students as they could accommodate in facilities newly constructed over the previous decade.

The system of traditional Samoan-language religious schools in the villages continued to function, though at a level far below that of the earlier years of the century. Since all children were obligated to attend an English-language public or private school during the mid-day hours, the pastors' and catechists' lessons now had to be offered in the early morning or late afternoon or during summer holidays. Hence, village religious schools were still a significant influence in the education of islanders, though diminishing in their numbers of students and in the years of instruction per student.

Finally, the original form of Samoan education —learning through participating in family and village life— was still the chief means by which American Samoan children learned traditional Polynesian patterns of culture.

NOTES

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4. Vernon Bronson. *A System Manual for the Staff and Faculty of the Department of Education.* Utulei, American Samoa: Government of American Samoa, 1968, p. 9.

CHAPTER 2

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3. Lowell D. Holmes. "An Appraisal of the Kon Tiki Theory." *Oceania.* Vol. 29, No. 2, December 1958, pp. 127-131.

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5. Felix M. Keesing and Marie M. Keesing. *Elite Communication in Samoa. A Study in Leadership.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford Unviersity Press, 1956, p. 39.

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7. *Kava* or *'ava* is a beverage prepared by South Sea islanders from the ground-up root of the *kava* plant *(piper methysticum)* mixed with water to form a somewhat peppery, cream-colored liquid that is drunk by chieftains as a ceremonial function in both Samoan and Tongan societies.

8. Felix M. Keesing and Marie M. Keesing, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

9. Joseph W. Ellison, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

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11. Margaret Mead, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

14. Felix M. Keesing and Marie M. Keesing, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

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